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VON MOLTKE AND FUTURE WARFARE.

WAR is wont to be associated with the physical rather than the intellectual or moral qualities. The idea of youth and strength and ardor is coupled with the military profession. Alexander at the Granicus, Scipio at Zama, Napoleon in '96, McClellan in '62, represent to the popular fancy the typical soldier. But war, from the standpoint of the captain, is primarily an intellectual process. The successful conduct of a campaign requires, first, exceptional mental powers; next, moral qualities of high order; and, last, a physique to withstand the drain of unremitting mental and nervous tension. The gladiatorial courage which prompted the little Roman legionary to close in upon the burly Teuton with the sword, or the prize-fighting pluck which carried the Guards through the day at Waterloo, are not as essential to the captain as the moral force which on the broad strategic field helps him to push his own scheme home despite the threatening maneuvers of his opponent, which on the narrower field of battle enables him to risk the lives of thousands of his men upon the result of a calculation, or to watch with equipoise the compromising movements of his adversary, or to hold back his battalions for the supreme moment; are not as essential as that self-reliance which prompts him to great undertakings and sustains him through their performance.

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Though there have been notable examples of great achievement by men under middle age, they are rather the exception than the rule. The most brilliant work is not usually done early in life. Alexander destroyed the Persian Empire at twenty-six; but Hannibal was in the forties when he held head against Fabius, Marcellus, and Nero; Cæsar was in the fifties when he defeated Pompey and his lieutenants; and Frederick was of equal age at the close of the Seven Years' War. Intellectual activity in peace is sometimes exhibited at an age which saps the physical powers to the core. But this is not the power called for by the kaleidoscopic changes of the drama of war. While the greatest military feats have as a rule been performed in middle life, it is rare that strength—mental, moral, and physical—is preserved to the biblical limit of years; and in military annals there is perhaps no one who has shown the ability to handle vast problems, to conceive and execute perplexing operations, to so great an age as the distinguished German captain who has recently passed from among us.

Helmuth Karl Bernhard von Moltke was born in the first year of the century which was to make Prussia a great power and to erect upon a sound pedestal the structure of the German Empire. His father had been in the Prussian army, but when the pride of Frederick's kingdom was humbled at Jena, he had entered the service of Denmark. Helmuth's youth was one of poverty. Without the assistance of the government he could not have accomplished his studies at the Copenhagen Military Academy, and his genius might have been lost to arms. At the age of twenty-two von Moltke entered the service of Prussia, and ten years later he was assigned to the general staff with rank of first lieutenant. Here he remained, affording the spectacle, natural enough to the student of war but strange to him who associates war only with the clash of arms, of a man who never commanded troops, was never in a great battle until past sixty, who devoted himself solely to the administrative part of the profession, and yet who became one of the greatest strategists of modern times, and is perhaps the father of the coming system of war. From 1835 to 1839 von Moltke was given leave to serve in Turkey, where the army was being reorganized on a Prussian

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basis. During this period he exhibited great engineering and administrative talent and wrote a volume on oriental matters which is still an authority.

For many years succeeding the desolation of the Napoleonic wars, the nations of Europe lay fallow to recuperate from the drain to which, for either attack or defense, the great Corsican had put the entire civilized world. During all this time, which covered the period of Moltke's life from early manhood well into middle age, the Prussian staff officer was unremitting in his labors. He had become an adept in all the details of his profession, had assimilated the lessons of history, had utilized in arms the modern talent for invention, had mastered the language of every country of Europe and learned its capacity for war; and though at forty-two he was only a major of the general staff, he was known as one of the most accomplished men of the Prussian service. Still no one gave him credit for the wonderful resources that he was to be called on to display at a period of life when in our army an officer has long been retired for age.

In 1845 von Moltke had the opportunity of going to Italy on the staff of Prince Henry, who resided in Rome for several years, but on the death of the prince he returned to his former duties. In 1858 his abilities finally earned him the position he had honestly won. He was made chief of the grand general staff, and a year later he was promoted to be lieutenant-general. What he has done as such is the history of the man, of Prussia, and of Germany.

Field Marshal von Moltke was of slender build and appeared taller than he really was. Unlike the heavily-muscled Teuton, he more nearly resembled an American Anglo-Saxon—spare, but active and alert and of great endurance. His habits were simple, his dress was plain, his manners were quiet and reserved. He was "silent in seven languages." Nothing could excite him or throw him off his equipoise. Of the numerous decorations conferred upon him, he habitually wore only the Iron Cross. His habits were methodical, and he was able to apply himself continuously for a great number of hours. No man was ever more familiar with every detail of the service than he. His one work in life was to make the Prussian army perfect as a fighting

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machine, and every study, all accumulated knowledge, tended to this end. He was married in 1843, and his happiness centered in his home life until his wife died in 1868. He then sought labor as a relief from sorrow, and the result of his retirement was shown in the mobilization of 1870.

Moltke was the legitimate successor of Scharnhorst and Gneisenau. The astonishing victories of Frederick and the efficient army he left behind him were mainly due to the genius of this "Last of the Kings." The splendid army inherited from his father had been ground into powder during the Seven Years' War. What he left was not a Prussian army, but an aggregation of all nationalities organized and disciplined to an exceptional state of effectiveness. When the lamp of Frederick's genius went out, the army was left in darkness, and it was speedily disintegrated. Half a generation later the national movement of France gave the world the keynote of the modern system of war; Bonaparte appeared and carried it forward to perfection, and at Jena showed the world that Frederick's army without Frederick, albeit governed by his rules, was powerless against the mighty blows of a new genius backed by a people in arms. After repeated disasters, the Treaty of Tilsit limited the army of Prussia to 42,000 men. But the bitter lesson proved of use. The great minister, Stein, began to evolve financial order from the wreck, and Scharnhorst conceived the system by which each recruit entered service for a short instead of a long enlistment, and, once made a soldier, was sent back to the plow or the counter, ready in case of need. The patriotism and homogeneity of the Prussian people, stung to the quick by humiliating defeats, admirably seconded this plan, and such men as Gneisenau and Clausewitz carried forward the work. In six years a complete transformation had been effected, and the Prussian armies, which in 1813–15 contributed to the overthrow of Napoleon, were national to the pith. Thenceforward the organization of the Prussian army ripened. Compulsory personal service of three years with the colors and further terms with the reserve and *landwehr* became and remained the law. To this day there has been no cessation of army discipline, and the campaigns of 1866 and 1870 show the legitimate outcome.

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A genius in war can do much with raw recruits. Hannibal quickly molded new levies into the form of seasoned troops. Napoleon, with a rabble under lax discipline, by crisp strategic combinations achieved astonishing results. But the best general is handicapped with an army unfit to second him. Perfect appointments, organization, and discipline under the colors are more essential than ability in the commander. Better a perfect army with fair generals than an untrustworthy army led by a genius. You are sure of the one; not so of the other. The work of the Prussian general staff was based on this fact. The kings of Prussia have always kept the best of talent in high places. The four corner pillars of the Prussian structure which made one Germany possible were Kaiser Wilhelm, Otto von Bismarck, Theodor von Roon, and Helmuth von Moltke. All bent their energies toward the same end—to produce perfect tools with which to do the work which European jealousies were cutting out.

The unquestioned strategic ability of von Moltke was thus supplemented by the peerless army at his disposal. The Prussian officer has been the hardest-working man in his profession. He has drilled his men himself. He has become familiar with handling his command under all conditions apt to occur in actual war. Its personnel, armament, health, and efficiency are matters of every-day concern. There is a constant interchange between line and staff duty, so that the directing becomes associated with the fighting element. He has been prepared by constant study, lectures, maneuvers, and the application of theory to practice. In the field, every superior and staff officer, squadron and battery commander has special maps of the country he has to operate in. His independence has been fostered to the fullest extent, and his judgment is relied on to take advantage of every changing phase. The enlisted man is equally strong, and perhaps no army has ever placed in line so large a proportion of those "present for duty" as the Prussian. Details on extra or special duty are not permitted, and it is known with certainty how many men will appear in the fighting ranks of a regiment.

Under the watchful eye of von Moltke all the elements bearing on army efficiency were elaborated. The railroads and tele-

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graph lines were public servants first, commercial ventures next. The artillery was thoroughly equipped. Every horse in the country was listed and liable to be taken for military duty; every man was subjected to some service and knew his place when called on. The infantry weapons were not only better than the enemy's, but there were plenty on hand. Without having to claim that the Prussian was a better man than the Austrian or the Frenchman, it may distinctly be claimed that he was a better soldier, if arms, equipment, drill, discipline, readiness, and an unusual sense of patriotism considered as well as physique. When war came, Moltke could report the number of men, horses, and guns which could be massed on any given point at a given moment, and could control the means of putting them there.

Such was the condition of the Prussian army in 1866. Von Moltke had borne his part in the preparation, and he was called on to direct the maneuvers of the Prussian columns. While he always deferred to the king, he was actually an autocrat. Let us see how he did his work.

The active army of Prussia was 335,000 strong. This could be increased to a war footing of 600,000. That of Austria was 384,000 men, capable of being raised to 700,000. In two weeks the Prussian mobilization was completed and the troops were on the frontier; the Austrian had begun much earlier, but the war was decided before the mobilization was as complete. The Prussian soldier was well educated, personally and as a soldier; the Austrian was ignorant and but half trained. The Prussian infantry carried the needle gun, and the batteries were mostly of breech loaders; the Austrian foot soldier was armed with the muzzle loader; the batteries were of the old pattern. Despite this the Austrian army was a splendid body.

The problem before Moltke was awkward. Prussia was not a compact territory. Westphalia and the Rhenish Provinces were separated from the rest of the kingdom by Hanover and Hesse-Cassel, allied to Austria. If Prussia advanced into Austrian territory, her rear was subject to attack. Saxony, likewise allied to Austria, was a salient thrust into the Prussian dominions from which the enemy could debouch at will on Berlin or Breslau. The plan of Moltke was comprehensive and simple—

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to neutralize Hanover and Hesse-Cassel, and then to throw the entire body of Prussian troops on the Austrian army in its own territory.

The main Prussian army of about 225,000 men was in three grand columns. The army of the Elbe, under General von Bittenfeld, was massed at Torgau, covering Berlin. The First Army, under Prince Friedrich Karl, took post at Görlitz. The Second Army, under the Crown Prince, stood at Neisse, covering Breslau. The flank armies were over 150 miles apart, but the central one was designed to sustain either. Sufficient forces remained at home, and Generals von Manteuffel and von Falkenstein, from Altona and Minden respectively, threatened Hanover with a division each; while General von Beyer with a division stood at Wetzlau ready to invade Hesse-Cassel.

Confronting these armies stood the main Austrian line, about 240,000 strong, massed near Prag, Brünn, and Olmütz, ready to concentrate at any point selected. Saxony had 25,000 men, Bavaria 50,000, and at Frankfurt stood a mixed force 40,000 strong. Hanover and Hesse-Cassel had each mobilized its army, some 25,000 effectives, and stood on the defensive, ready to fall on the rear of the Prussian armies if the opportunity offered. Italy, allied to Prussia, called away some Austrian forces, but their operations do not concern us.

Napoleon's favorite plan of attack was to move upon his enemy in one mass on one line, so that when brought to battle he might outnumber him, and from such a direction that he might compromise him. The campaigns of Ulm and Jena illustrate this method. It is unquestionably the soundest theory, but there are circumstances which render the plan unavailable. In the present case uncertainty of where the Austrian blow might fall, the necessity of protecting Silesia on the east and Westphalia and Rhineland on the west, as well as the impossibility of moving so many army corps on one line over the roads then existing, forbade an operation in one mass and justified the division of forces. Moltke knew and relied on his superior speed, as well as his better armament, and felt that whatever the maneuvers, he could concentrate before the great battle which is the outcome of all strategic combinations should take place.

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The Austrian general, Field Marshal von Benedek, an able and distinguished officer, had expected to gain the initiative and invade Prussia. He confessed himself no strategist, but felt confident of his powers on the battlefield. He utterly misjudged his adversary. He held cheap the bureau-working, silent, studious Prussian chief of staff. But bureau work had prepared the way for operations far too rapid for von Benedek. The speed of the Prussians was Napoleonic. War was declared June 15. The Prussian columns advanced like an avalanche. In two weeks Hanover was brought to the verge of ruin, her king was dethroned, and her army surrendered. Hesse-Cassel met a like fate, and the elector was taken prisoner. The rear of Prussia was free; her communications with Westphalia and Rhineland were open. At the same moment Saxony had been invaded by the army of the Elbe and the First Army. In three days Dresden was taken, the King fled, and before the end of the month of June, all Saxony was in Prussian control. A fortnight had sufficed to settle the minor problems of the war, to cut off Bavaria and the Frankfurt forces, and to put Prussia in possession of the salient of Saxony which had been so marked an advantage to her antagonist. The army of the Elbe and the First Army were now joined, under command of Prince Friedrich Karl.

We have here a manifestation of the basis of Moltke's success —preparation, precision. For years the quiet man had bent every energy to detail. He had devoted no time to show work; he cared naught for the outward parade of efficiency. He had made sure that what the army was on paper it was in effect; that every man and officer was ready, and knew his place and duty; that mobilization should mean actual assembly. Every uncertain element was eliminated. So far as lay within human power, the war had been reduced to a mathematical calculation. However sound his strategy, it was of less importance than readiness; however able his opponent, the initiative gained by the promptness of Prussia had placed him at a disadvantage. Moltke had won the first innings; the war was to be waged on the enemy's soil; the *morale* of the Prussians was high.

But the greater problem was far from solved. The Crown

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Prince was separated by over 120 miles from Prince Friedrich Karl. This position had been a politico-military necessity; but apart the two bodies were in peril. How could they act in unison? If Benedek should only be delayed in his advance for a few days more, all would be well. Great captains always gauge their adversaries and adapt themselves to their probable action. Moltke knew he could move the faster, and relied on Benedek's natural and constrained slowness.

Prince Friedrich Karl was promptly advanced into Bohemia, and the Crown Prince was ordered from Silesia toward Gitschin, where the armies were to join. The battlefield was manifestly to be on Bohemian soil. To meet the Prussian lunge, Benedek slowly concentrated in the vicinity of the left bank of the Elbe, south-east from Königgrätz. He was thunderstruck at the turn affairs had taken. But he was a typical fighter and welcomed the approaching battle, for the result of which he had no fears. The two Prussian armies were still dangerously far apart. There was a chance for a Napoleon to interpose between them and beat them in detail; a Benedek could not do so. Moltke's idea on this subject was that Benedek had neither space nor speed enough to essay this bold game; that if he did so and attacked either army, the other would be able, by superior alertness, to take him in flank and rear.

A glance at the map of Bohemia will show that it is surrounded on north, west, and east by bold and rugged mountain chains. These were a difficulty to the Prussians and an advantage. Should they be defeated in the approaching battle, they had an excellent line of defense to fall back on, still on the enemy's territory. But meanwhile the Riesengebirge lay between their sundered armies.

The Crown Prince had before him a serious operation in crossing the mountains in the presence of Benedek's threatening and much larger force, but he did so successfully. To facilitate the operation, Prince Friedrich Karl was ordered to attack the Austrian left. There were isolated exchanges, almost rising to the dignity of general engagements, in which each side won some advantage, but Moltke's strategic plan was gradually nearing completion—the Prussian armies were fast approaching.

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Meanwhile von Benedek was pluming himself on his interior position and planning to hold back one Prussian army while he annihilated the other. He was far too slow. The Prussian heels were of more avail than their needle guns. Benedek had two chances. He could with a small force intrench the mountain passes against the Crown Prince, as the lessons of our civil war plainly taught him to do, and delay the latter's advance, while with the bulk of his force he fell upon Prince Friedrich Karl. Or he might demonstrate against the latter and destroy the Crown Prince as he slowly debouched from the mountains. But Moltke was fortunate in his enemies, as many a great captain has been; Benedek delayed his action.

The armies came into each other's presence at Königgrätz July 3. The Austrians had on the field 206,000 men and 770 guns. Prince Friedrich Karl had 124,000 men and 444 guns. The Crown Prince had 96,000 men and 348 guns, but he was not yet in touch. Could he come up? Two days sooner the Austrians could have had things their own way. Lest Benedek should detach sufficient force to hold head against the Crown Prince, Prince Friedrich Karl was ordered to force the fighting on the Austrian left, which he did with a will, but was able to make no impression. He was, in fact, roughly handled. But the stubborn work relieved the pressure on the Crown Prince. Like Blücher at Waterloo, the Crown Prince at the last moment came in on the Austrian right flank, the Austrians were defeated, and Moltke's strategy was made perfect by success.

A notable difference between the rival generals and their armies is shown in the orders and dispatches. Moltke gave broad directions in few words, and left specific action to the judgment of his well-trained generals. Benedek arrogated all power to himself; he relied solely on his own knowledge and judgment; he gave no discretion to his lieutenants.

Königgrätz decided the war. The success of the campaign of 1870 was predicated on the same element of preparation. The triumph of 1866 was far from relaxing Prussian watchfulness. It was not only kept up to the mark, but advanced in effectiveness. How the French could have supposed, as they did, that they were to have a walk-over, it is hard to imagine.

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When, in 1870, Napoleon declared war, the Prussian mobilization was effected in twelve days, and a deluge swept over France. The events of this war are too fresh in all minds to need recapitulation. It was perfect preparation rather than superior generalship which decided the struggle.

That von Moltke struck the keynote of the warfare of the future is probable. Careful preparation has always been a characteristic of great captains. We are apt to think that genius overrides the precautions of every day, but the history of war proves that success is bred of forethought. Genius is more than the capacity for unlimited hard work, but the hard work is indispensable. Alexander inherited a matchless phalanx from Philip, but his scrupulous care of it and his just weighing of every factor was what made his handful victorious over hordes. Hannibal exhibited greater patience and skill in working up his plans than any other captain. Cæsar was sometimes careless, but good fortune saved him from himself, and for most of his campaigns he laboriously made ready. Gustavus Adolphus was the first of modern times to show method in preparation for war and to overlook no condition. Frederick, like Alexander, inherited an army, but he kept it up to the mark by incessant work. From him comes a distinct part of Moltke's inspiration. Napoleon's laborious preparations were as marked as his strategy was bold and original. The German chief of staff enunciated no new doctrine. But has carried out his system with more fidelity and brains than any other man of the century.

The French Revolution put a national army afoot, and the mercenaries of the last century disappeared. The Prussian army is more national still. It is the very marrow of the people that forms the rank and file. "*Für Gott, König, und Vaterland!*" is no vain battle-cry. The Prussian soldier is truly patriotic, and everything is done to foster the sentiment. His uniform is an honor, not a badge of servitude. However poor the officer, he is a very Lucifer for pride. Nor is this mere vanity. He knows, and he is encouraged to feel, that his is the most honorable of professions so long as he works earnestly and honorably at it; that he belongs to the most splendid army of modern days, and that in the army lies the true safety of the

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country. This is an inheritance from Friedrich der Einzige, and it does not slacken. Moltke's rule was work, pride in the profession, patriotism; he ground this into the very souls of the Prussians. Germany has followed suit.

Such is the basis. The superstructure consists of making everything—modern invention, railroads, telegraph, private and public enterprises—subsidiary to the needs of the country. This has been done with a resolute intelligence never before equaled. Whether the efficiency of the German staff will suffer from the death of von Moltke cannot be said, but on it rests the integrity of the Teutonic Empire.

Perhaps the art of war has never been so enigmatical as it now is. It is the *x* of the problem of nations. Among the Greeks war was a simple affair. The phalanxes of Athens and Sparta marched out to battle, and by a sort of consensus a plain was selected where the two bodies fought, much as two champions would fight a duel, and the victor dictated terms. Epaminondas with his Theban phalanx beat the Spartans by a keen eye for tactics. Philip beat the Thebans with the Macedonian *sarissa*. Alexander, by an astonishing power of gauging his work, and unequaled strategic and tactical originality, headed Philip's army and conquered the world. The Roman legion worsted the phalanx; or rather the Roman citizen, organized into a national legion much as the Prussian is to-day, beat the phalanx of mercenaries to which Greece had degenerated. The armies of Cæsar and Pompey were alike, save in reflecting the spirit of their leaders. After their day the art of war languished, to be revived by Gustavus. Upon him followed Frederick, who taught Europe how speed and resolution can enhance small numbers. And then, in some respects greatest of all, Napoleon taught the world the modern system. During all these eras war possessed a certain stability which only some great cataclysm, like the invention of gunpowder, could interrupt. The personal element weighed for much, as it always must. But a given result could with reasonable accuracy be predicted from given conditions. This is no longer so. War is the most inexact of sciences.

Naval warfare stands over a volcano. The race between

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ordnance casting heavy projectiles at fabulous velocities, and armor-plated ships, has resulted in the building of unseaworthy floating fortresses, armed with guns which work their own ruin when fired, and defended by such weight of metal that, though theoretically flotative, they scarcely dare cross the ocean; indeed, cannot coal for so long a journey. A noted eccentric of the day once said that he preferred absence of body to presence of mind. It may be said that the light-armed cruiser with two or three efficient guns, which can steam more than twenty knots and get out of the way of danger—that is, can maneuver to advantage—is worth more than the first-rate iron-clad. The future naval battle will yield vast surprises and will result in enormous loss of life. The iron-clad which floats at the end of the next stubborn sea fight will be a paragon. On land matters are not quite so unpromising, but, owing to the fertility of invention, they are quite as perplexing. Arms of precision upset the calculations of the best tacticians; smokeless powder threatens to cripple all calculation. Preparation will remain the sheet-anchor of nations, but no soldier can tell what the next invention applicable to war may be or how it can be met; and the armament or drill of a million men cannot be changed or amended in a day. Money alone will not do it. To make ready for a campaign has always been one of the most complex of problems; the difficulties are to-day increased many fold.

No inventions, no changes in arms, can alter the maxims of strategy. These are immutable. Their use depends on the character of the captains. But tactics change with inventions in firearms. The maneuvers of the battlefield must depend upon the weapons of the enemy, upon the danger zones of his fire. From close order we have gone to open order, only to find that scattered groups are apt to weaken discipline; and to-day more than ever before we need *morale* and cohesiveness on the battlefield. That commander who, despite the fearful decimation of modern artillery and small arms, can keep his battalions the longest in heart, will win the day. The Old Dessauer's "*Wenn Du nicht zurück gehst, so geht der Feind zurück!*" still holds good. It is tactics reduced to its lowest terms. Many intelligent essays are published to prove this or the other system to be the one to

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govern the maneuvers of the coming battlefield, but in truth no one knows or can argue out what is to be. A theory sound to-day is discarded to-morrow. But a few facts are patent. Reliance can be placed only on a strictly national army. That nation the breasts of whose citizens are bared for her defense with honest patriotism, and which has leaders who leave no stone unturned to keep abreast of the progress of war, will remain the strongest. No nation, in the present condition of armed expectancy which pervades Europe, will, by better arms or more recent inventions, be able to dispense with this foundation. The rule held good in the days of the burgess-soldier of Rome; it holds good now.

The losses in the next war will probably not be an increase over the losses of previous ones. Campaigns will be of weeks, not months, and sickness will not add its terrors to wounds and death. The proportion of men who perish will decrease; but there will be enormous losses in some commands. As at sea, where iron-clads will go to the bottom with all on board, so on land, battalions, brigades will be annihilated by the increased efficiency of the enemy's arms. But on the whole the loss of life will be lessened.

There is scarcely any theory of warfare in the future which may not be argued out from the peculiar existing conditions. But it is a sphinx riddle which has not yet been guessed. The work done by von Moltke is typical of what the needs of the future must be; the man himself is the type of the soldier of the future. The swashbuckler has gone for good, driven out by modern invention, as that ancient bully, the knight in armor, was driven out by gunpowder. In his place has come the intellectual, hard-working student of war. If the life of the great Prussian soldier teaches anything, it teaches us that war is no longer the province of the rough, but is the theater for intellect, moral courage, and honest patience. The lower forms of courage have ceased to have their old-time value. It is brain tissue and *morale* which will win in future wars.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

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CHURCH AND CREED.

CHURCH and creed were born together. The creed is essentially a confession of faith in Jesus Christ as the Messiah and Saviour of men. Peter may be said to have uttered the first Christian creed when he said: "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God."* On this account he was named by the Messiah the Rock of the Church. The first confessor was given the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The creed was at first that confession of faith in the Messiah which was necessary to Christian baptism and to participation in the supper of the Lord in the Church. The apostolic commission, "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," gave the outline of the Trinitarian creed: "I believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."

So soon as the Church was organized and provision was made for the training of converts in preparation for the sacraments, this simple outline of the creed was enlarged, so as to embrace the essential doctrines of the Christian religion as conceived by the ancient Church. This enlargement of the creed was made independently in the different churches established in the provinces and cities of the Roman Empire; but gradually a consensus was attained, such as we find in the so-called Apostles' Creed and in the Nicene Creed, the latter differing from the former chiefly in that it was enlarged by the Council of Nice in 325 A.D. so as to exclude the Arians from the Church. We have to distinguish, in the Apostles' Creed, between the older form, in which there was a consensus, and the later additions to it; just as we have to distinguish between the original Nicene Creed of 325 and the Constantinopolitan Creed of 381 with the western additions. We shall arrange these in parallel columns, giving the later additions in brackets, but not attempting to

* Matt. xvi., 16.

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restore to their original form the clauses that have been transposed. The parentheses show the Latin additions.*

Apostles' Creed.	*Nicene Creed.*
1. I believe in God the Father Almighty [maker of heaven and earth.]	1. We (I) believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker [of heaven and earth, and] of all things visible and invisible.
2. And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord ;	2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the [only begotten] Son of God, begotten of the Father [before all worlds ;] (God of God), Light of Light, Very God of Very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father ; by whom all things were made ; (both in heaven and on earth).
3. Who was [conceived] by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary ;	3. Who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down [from heaven], and was incarnate [by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary] and was made man ;
4. [Suffered] under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, [dead], and buried ;	4. He [was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate ; and] suffered, [and was buried :]
5. [He descended into hades]; the third day he rose again from the dead ;	5. And the third day he rose again [according to the Scriptures]
6 He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of [God] the Father [Almighty];	6. [And] ascended into heaven [and sitteth on the right hand of the Father.]
7. From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.	7. From thence he shall come [again, with glory] to judge the quick and the dead ; [whose kingdom shall have no end.]
8. And [I believe] in the Holy Ghost.	8. And (I believe) in the Holy Ghost, [the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father (and the Son ;) who with the Father and the Son together is worshiped and glorified ; who spake by the prophets.]
9. The holy [catholic] Church ; [the communion of saints];	[9. (And I believe) in one holy catholic and apostolic church.]

* See Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," pp. 12 *et seq.*

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Apostles' Creed.	*Nicene Creed.*
10. The forgiveness of sins;	[10. We (I) acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins.]
11. The resurrection of the body [flesh];	[11. And we (I) look for the resurrection of the dead;]
[12. And the life everlasting.]	[12. And the life of the world to come.]

The damnatory clauses of the Nicene Creed I have not given. They ought never to have been used with the creed. They may be appropriate as the judgment of the council, but they are not proper in public worship.

These two primitive creeds have been taken into the liturgies of the Christian Church and are a part of the public worship of Christendom. The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and the Lambeth conference of the Bishops of the Church of England and her daughters did wisely when, in their plan for the reunion of Christendom, they proposed these two liturgical creeds—"the Apostles' Creed as the baptismal symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith." It should be the aim of all Christians to rally about this position as the essential doctrinal basis of Christendom. I take no exception to any statements of these two creeds. Some of the later additions seem to me to express important doctrines. At the same time, it is my opinion that, if we could reduce these two creeds to their primitive form by striking out all the bracketed clauses, many minds would be relieved of difficulties in subscription and nothing essential to Christianity would be lost. They would still give "the sufficient statement of the Christian faith." These two creeds are suited to public worship in form and in substance. Their language is chaste and beautiful, they are devotional and easily become choral. The Christian world, with very few exceptions, heartily unite in them, and in their one harmonious faith realize the blessedness of "the communion of saints." The later creeds of the Church express division and schism. They set forth doctrinal variations which are of great importance in the science of theology, but which are not essential to Christian faith and life. The Creed of Chalcedon and the pseudo-Athanasian Creed are accepted by the great body of orthodox men in the Christian

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Church, but both of them have been severely criticised by devout and honored theologians. What they have added to the two ancient creeds has not tended to the harmony of Christendom.

The Church of Christ for 1,500 years lived and grew and accomplished its greatest triumphs, destroying the ancient religions, transforming the Greek, Roman, and oriental civilizations, winning the Celtic, Germanic, and Slavonic races to Christ, without any other creeds than these. But in the sixteenth century the throes of liberty and reformation divided the Church, and large numbers of creeds, catechisms, and confessions of faith were framed in order to define the differences and to emphasize the discord of Christendom. The Greek Church produced a number of confessions and catechisms to vindicate its orthodoxy over against Rome and Wittenberg. The Protestant churches set forth their faith in the Augsburg Confession and in national symbols. The Roman Catholic Church defined the orthodox faith in the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent. All variations of Protestantism also found expression in confessions of faith and in catechisms of various kinds. These modern symbolical documents differ greatly in form and character from the ancient creeds. 1. They are not so much creeds, expressing the real faith of the people of God, as systems of orthodox doctrine, to be taught by theologians. 2. They are not designed for the worship of the people and are therefore not in the liturgical form. They are for instruction in the class room; catechisms for children; larger catechisms for adults and confessions of faith for the ministry. 3. They do not set forth in plain terms the essential doctrines of Christianity, but in learned language they give a complete exposition of Christian doctrine or else a full statement of certain particular doctrines with regard to which there have been division and debate.

If it was necessary to organize the various Protestant national churches of northern Europe, it was also necessary that these churches should define their faith in symbolical books. This made it necessary also for the Roman Catholic Church to define its position at the Council of Trent. So also when the non-conforming churches separated from the national churches there was the same historic necessity for additional symbols of faith.

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These symbolic books were designed for the most part as public expressions of the faith of the national churches or of the denominations using them. They were not ordinarily intended to bind the consciences of the people or even to compel the ministry to blind subscription to all their dogmatic statements. Subscription to creeds was forced on the ministry of the British churches by the authority of the state in the interests of civil order. It was not a natural evolution of Protestantism itself. It was rather an unwholesome check to the development of Protestantism, its doctrine and life. The symbolic books of Protestantism culminated, on the continent of Europe, in the Lutheran Form of Concord and in the Reformed Canons of Dort. The Form of Concord became a form of discord in the Lutheran churches. Dr. Schaff has well said:

"During the palmy period of Lutheran scholasticism, the Formula of Concord stood in high authority among Lutherans, and was even regarded as inspired. Its first centennial [1680] was celebrated with considerable enthusiasm. But at the close of another century it was dead and buried."*

The Canons of Dort excluded Arminianism from the reformed churches, and made a division which has continued until the present time. Dr. Schaff says:

"The Canons of Dort have for Calvinism the same significance which the Formula of Concord has for Lutheranism; both betray a very high order of theological ability and care. Both are consistent and necessary developments. Both exerted a powerful and conserving influence in these churches. Both prepared the way for a dry scholasticism which runs into subtle abstractions, and resolves the living soul of divinity into a skeleton of formulas and distinctions. Both consolidated orthodoxy at the expense of freedom, sanctioned a narrow confessionalism, and widened the breach between the two branches of the Reformation." †

The Westminster Confession was later than the two scholastic symbols just mentioned. It was the fruit of the second Reformation in Great Britian, and as such full of life and vigor and thereby less scholastic than the Form of Concord and the Canons of Dort. But in some respects it is having a history similar to that of these two older symbols. As I have elsewhere said:

"It was a splendid plan to unite all parties in the three national churches of Great Britain about common symbols. But, unfortunately,

* "Creeds of Christendom," p. 336. † Ibid., p. 515.

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the king would not allow the Episcopal divines to attend, and the Assembly, with the Long Parliament, soon expelled the Episcopal party. The Presbyterian majority was intolerant toward the Congregational minority, so that, while the dissenting brethren struggled heroically for their views in the Assembly, the hostility of the Presbyterian party became so great that John Goodwin and Henry Burton, the only two pastors of London churches who were Independents, were deprived of their charges. And so the Westminster Symbols became the banners of the Presbyterian party. What, then, do we see at the present time? The Westminster Confession has been rejected by all of the historical churches of England. It is held only by the Presbyterian church of England, a small church composed chiefly of Scottish and Irish families residing in England. In Ireland, it is the symbol only of the Presbyterians of the North. It is a national creed in Scotland alone. It is used only by Presbyterians in America and the colonies. Nine tenths of the Protestants of Great Britain and America do not adhere to the Westminster Confession. It has failed in its design of displacing the Thirty-nine Articles. It has not become the one creed of Great Britain. This is the verdict of history on the Westminster Confession." *

The movement for a revision of the Westminster Symbols, now in progress in the Presbyterian churches of the world, will probably eventually result in casting those symbols aside as barriers to church unity and as no longer suitable expressions of the faith and life of the Church in our day.

Dogmatic theology is in a state of dissolution and reconstruction. The dogmatic theologians have elaborated Protestant dogma far beyond the later symbolical books of Protestantism. Thinking men are going back to the symbols of the Reformation, and then back of these to the ecumenical creeds, and then still further back to the theology of the Bible itself. The theology of the Bible was sadly neglected by the scholastic divines, and it has found no adequate expression in the symbolical books of any of the great churches of Christendom. They, for the most part, pursued false methods of exegesis. They knew little or nothing of Biblical criticism. The lower or textual criticism, the higher or literary criticism, and historical criticism are sections of modern scientific study of the Bible. Criticism has made the Bible a new book. And the discipline of Biblical theology which builds on the results of criticism finds in the Bible a new theology—new not in the sense that it destroys any-

* "How Shall We Revise?" pp. 4–5.

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thing that is valuable in the old theology; but that on the one hand it is simpler, fresher, full of life and energy, quickening and fascinating people as well as preacher, and, on the other hand, more comprehensive, more profound, more symmetrical and harmonious. It is sublime and indeed divine, because it brings us face to face with holy prophets and with God himself. The old scholastic dogmatics, in which the most of the ministry now in service have been trained and which they have been taught as the rule of faith by which to interpret Bible and history, Christian experience and human life, is now confronted by a Biblical theology that convicts it of exaggeration in human speculation, of misinterpretation of the Word of God, and of ignorance of some of the most important facts and teachings of the Scriptures. Biblical theology has made it evident that the dogmatic systems have obscured the Biblical elements with the ecclesiastical and the speculative, and have thereby too often made the word of God of no effect by their traditions.

Historical theology has undermined and destroyed, in large measure, ecclesiastical claims of the dogmaticians. We now know well the history of doctrine and the history of dogma. The story of creed-formation in the early Church, and the controversies resulting in the construction of the symbolical books of the modern churches have for the most part been made evident by the historical investigation of their sources. The claims of authority that were strong when these creeds and symbols were enveloped with a halo of mystery, which made them appear as well-nigh inspired, can no longer resist the evidence of human passions and strifes, the false use of Scripture and history, the improper methods of argumentation, the errors in philosophy and psychology that to such an extent influenced the authors of the creeds in their doctrinal definitions. We have learned to distinguish (1) Biblical theology, (2) the history of dogma, (3) the doctrine of the creeds, (4) the speculations of the dogmatic theologians. The systems now in use in the United States, for the most part, were constructed without any use whatever of the more fundamental departments of theological science, and yet in childlike simplicity and cool dogmatism it is assumed that they are Biblical, churchly, and confessional. When the creeds

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of the churches are tested by the Bible and by history, they do not sustain the test well enough to resist the demands for revision and for new and simpler creeds. I have recently shown that the churches subscribing to the Westminster Confession have widely drifted from it in the teaching of their leading theologians and in the preaching of the pulpits.

"The Westminster system has been virtually displaced by the teachings of the dogmatic divines. It is no longer practically the standard of the faith of the Presbyterian Church. The catechisms are not taught in our churches, the confessions are not expounded in our theological seminaries. The Presbyterian Church is not orthodox, judged by its own standards. It has neither the old orthodoxy nor the new orthodoxy. It is drifting toward an unknown and a mysterious future." *

I have also shown in another place, by a comparative table of the Westminster Confession and two of the leading dogmatic systems of recent times, that the proportions of the faith of the Westminster Confession have entirely changed.

"New doctrines have come into the field, old doctrines have been discarded; some doctrines have been depressed, other doctrines have been exalted. The systems are different in their structure, in their order of material, in the material itself, in its proportions, and in the structural principles. The essential and necessary articles of about one half of the Westminster system are in these systems, but the other half, with its essential articles, is not there." †

I have also shown from a table of all the proof texts of the Westminster Confession that 667 texts are from the epistles of Paul and the epistle to the Hebrews, and only 248 from the Gospels and 247 from the other writers of the New Testament.

"Thus the Confession is built on the words of Paul rather than the words of the Lord Jesus. It is Pauline rather than comprehensively Christian." ‡

"There are so many omissions of important doctrines of Holy Scripture, there is such a disproportionate use of the darker and gloomier side of the Bible, and such a neglect of the brighter and more gracious side, and there is such a difference between the Confession and the preaching of the pulpit and the reading of the Bible in our homes, that something more than revision will be required to meet the necessities of the case, and we must set our faces toward the new creed as the only adequate solution of the difficulties of the situation." §

* "Whither?" pp. 223–224.
† "How Shall We Revise?" p. 11.
‡ Ibid., p. 139.
§ Ibid., pp. 181–2.

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The Westminster Confession having already been displaced by dogmatic systems, these will give way to new systems constructed on more scientific principles and in closer harmony with the Bible and history. Such systems will distinguish between the essential and the non-essential in Christian doctrine, and thus prepare the way for a consensus creed expressing the essential doctrines in the forms suitable for public worship, reserving the non-essential doctrines for the discussion of the class room, the lecture, the treatise, and the club.

The Church of England and her daughters no longer regard belief in the entire body of the Thirty-nine Articles as essential to ministerial work. The Methodists have reduced these articles to a simpler form and are not rigid in the acceptance of them. The Congregational churches no longer insist upon the Savoy Declaration or the Cambridge Platform. The Baptist churches have no common confession of faith that binds them, but at most simple congregational creeds. The Protestant churches of the Continent have for the most part laid aside the symbols of the Reformation. Where this has not been formally done by official action, it has been really accomplished by common consent. There is a general tendency throughout Protestant Christendom toward simple statements of faith and a general acquiescence in the old ecumenical creeds as sufficient even for our times.

There have been great advances in doctrine and in dogma in modern theology. The dogmatic divines have generally laid more stress on the new doctrines than on the old ones. A recent study of the Apostles' Creed in comparison with several systems of dogmatic theology in general use at the present time showed that six of the articles of the creed (1, 2, 3, 4, 11, and 12) are elaborated in more or less fullness in the dogmatic systems; that six of them (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10) have been to a great extent ignored, and that there are six doctrines, not in the two ancient creeds, to which the two representative dogmatic systems of Dr. Charles Hodge and Dr. W. G. T. Shedd give twice the attention that they have given to the 12 articles of the creed. These doctrines that have risen into so great importance as to suppress the ancient catholic doctrines of the Church are: (1)

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inspiration of the Scriptures, (2) the divine decree, (3) original sin, (4) vicarious atonement, (5) imputation of the righteousness of Christ, (6) everlasting punishment. This group of doctrines is just where the Church is divided. These have been exaggerated in their importance, while doctrines in which there is concord are passed over lightly or else entirely overlooked. The tendency of American dogmatic speculation has been in one direction, while the tendency of the faith of the home and the pulpit has been in another direction; so that a crisis has been reached and a break has come between a so-called conservative dogmatic theology, which is really radical in its elaboration of speculative dogma, and the faith and life of the Church, which adheres to the simpler statements of the Bible and to the ancient creeds.

The tendency of thought in the present century has been toward the person and work of Jesus Christ. This urges a return to the ancient Christological creeds. The life of Christ has been studied as never before. The doctrine of the incarnation has again become prominent, especially in the Anglican Church. More attention is now given to the doctrine of the resurrection, enthronement, and second advent of our Lord. This tendency is becoming stronger every year; it will eventually become so powerful that all modern doctrines will be Christologized, and then it will be possible to put them, in their essential contents, into the devotional form, and to introduce them into the liturgical worship of the Church.

The Reformation did not go on to its completion. It came to a halt too soon. It over-emphasized justification and neglected sanctification; it exaggerated faith and depreciated holy love and good works. It threw away purgatory and left the middle state between death and the resurrection a blank. It is now clear to the historical critic that there is one-sideness in Protestantism as well as in Roman Catholicism; that neither of these great religious bodies is to conquer the other; and that a reconciliation can take place only by each overcoming its own defects and becoming more comprehensively Christian.

Modern critical philosophy, science in all its branches, history, and the critical study of the Bible are all working together

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to give the theologian treasures of truth unknown to former ages. The critical study of the Bible makes it a richer and a grander book, and finds mines of doctrines, new as well as old. The Church, to the thoughtful student of history, becomes sublime, notwithstanding all its defects, as the Kingdom of Christ on earth. The reason, in the researches of modern science and philosophy, has become a vastly more potent factor in the apprehension and in the comprehension of divine truth. There is a reconciliation to be looked for, to be longed for, and to be labored for, in the future, to which Churchman, Rationalist, and Evangelical may each contribute. We may reasonably expect that the theological conflicts, the dissolutions of old theology, the reconstruction of new theology, the intense and eager researches after the truth of God, will result in a crisis in which all of the forces of Christianity will come into play in order to give birth to a new age of the world in which the discord of Christendom will die away, and concord will live and reign and express its new faith and new life in a creed, a choral of praise to the triune God, in which all the essential doctrines of Christianity, learned from all the struggles and triumphs of twenty centuries, will be grouped about the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

In this period of transition there is need of patience, charity, courage, sound judgment, and at the same time passion for the truth. There are some who would do away with all creeds. To these we reply that the Church has had creeds from the beginning. It must have them to express its faith and life and unity. The excesses committed by the modern Church in all its branches ought not to drive us into opposite excesses. Let us correct the evil, remove the error, and make no more mistakes. Let every Christian rally to the position of the Anglican Church that the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed are sufficient.

There are others who still insist upon subscription to the elaborate creeds of the modern Church. I have no difficulty myself in subscribing to the Westminster Confession in the historic sense of the terms of subscription as interpreted by the Adopting Act of 1729, and defined by the synod of New York and New Jersey. But I have difficulty in uniting with others in the Presbyterian Church in exacting such subscription as a con-

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dition of ministerial service. And I shall do all in my power to relieve tender consciences and to remove the stumbling blocks from the way of the troubled seekers after truth. The Westminster Confession is a system of doctrine of exceeding value as the historic expression of the theology of the Puritan divines of the seventeenth century; but it contains a large amount of doctrine that is rejected by the vast majority of Protestant ministers, and much of it is not essential or even of very great importance. Presbyterians should, however, be patient and loving, and in chivalric contest endeavor to bring about the revision that is needed.

The aim of Christianity is to march forward toward the full realization of the Christian ideal. We should use our utmost endeavor to construct a new consensus creed that will better express Christian faith than the old creeds. The Alliance of Presbyterian churches is approaching this problem with some degree of hopefulness of ultimate success. When each of the great alliances of Christian denominations has reduced its symbols to consensus creeds, it will be easier to frame a consensus creed in which all may unite. It is evident that the twentieth century will have great problems to solve in the relation of Church and creed, and thoughtful men in all denominations are preparing for the crisis.

C. A. Briggs.

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THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

THE British Colonial Office was wise enough, as long ago as 1849, to include in a bill clauses which provided for the possible creation of a general assembly for two or more of the Australian colonies. The House of Lords, however, rejected the proposal, and Lord Grey informed the colonies that the government had consented to abandon this portion of their measure because they found that, while New South Wales did not care for it, the other colonies had raised objections. At the same time, Lord Grey stated that his personal view was that the need of a central authority for Australia would be felt, and that probably at an early period.

In 1853 Mr. Wentworth, in drawing up a constitution for New South Wales, suggested federation to the extent of a power to legislate, by a general assembly, on all subjects which might be submitted to it by addresses from the councils or assemblies of other colonies; with a federal revenue and a general court of appeal. The creation of such a body Mr. Wentworth and his committee thought was "indispensable" and "ought no longer to be delayed." In 1857 Mr. Wentworth proceeded to London to advocate this scheme, which was the germ of the idea which ultimately took shape in the Federal Council of Australia. Lord Grey may, therefore, be looked upon as the wise man who foresaw, and Mr. Wentworth as the practical man who shaped, the earliest Australian federation. Sir Henry Parkes it was, as we shall presently see, who seized the moment to push the idea of a closer federation to the front.

A colonial conference assembled in 1881, and its outcome was the establishment of the Federal Council by Act of Parliament in 1883: but this council was deprived of authority by the refusal of New South Wales to join it. In October, 1889, a report by a general officer, who had been sent from Hong-Kong to make suggestions on the military forces of the Austra-

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lian colonies, was seized on by Sir Henry Parkes as giving him a leverage. The Prime Minister of New South Wales started for Queensland, and there conferred with Sir Samuel Griffith and Sir Thomas McIlwraith upon the whole subject of federation. Finding that he obtained support in Queensland from both parties, he made a public speech in which he declared boldly for a large scheme, and then communicated with Victoria and the other colonies. The Victorians were inclined to insist on using the Federal Council as the basis of the scheme, but Sir Henry Parkes soon managed to drive or persuade them out of this position; and he proposed in a dispatch to Mr. Duncan Gillies, the then Prime Minister of Victoria, that very scheme for a conference which was afterward accepted, and a plan of federal government more complete than that which the conference of 1890 and the convention of 1891 have brought about; for he stated that he assumed that the scheme of Australian federal government would follow the type of the government of Canada.

I need not explain to American readers, familiar with federal constitutions and their differences, that the Canadian constitution yields a federalism far more close or centralized than that of the United States. The lieutenant-governors of the Canadian provinces are named by the Viceroy on the advice of the Dominion cabinet. The central government of Canada possesses all powers which are not definitely allotted by Act of Parliament to the provinces. In this and other ways Canada is more one country than is the United States. The historic growth of many of the Commonwealths which compose the United States, such as the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, explains the jealousy with which in the United States the federal power has been viewed. In Canada, Quebec and Ontario and some of the maritime provinces had a somewhat similar, although a shorter history, but seem to have been welded together into a single country by jealousy of their great neighbor. In Australia there was no historic reason making against national unity; but local jealousies and local interests, which have grown up under the protectionist policy of the majority of the colonies, have weakened the idea of Australian unity and interfered with the completeness of the Parkes scheme.

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The Prime Minister of Victoria informed the Prime Minister of New South Wales that the latter, "the great mother-colony, has unfortunately stood aloof from such federation as was at the time possible, thus barring the way to Australian unity." This was very true, but unimportant in face of the fact that Sir Henry Parkes had taken up a position which made him master of the situation, in having seized the right moment to swim on the crest of a wave of federal feeling.

In February, 1890, there met at Melbourne a conference of representatives of the whole of the Australian colonies and of New Zealand, and a vague federal resolution was proposed, containing the word "Australasian" so as to include New Zealand. It was carried, with the substitution of the word "Australian," inasmuch as the New Zealand representatives stated that they could not come into federation, although friendly to the movement. On the motion of one of them, Captain Russell, a further resolution also was carried, to the effect that to the union of the Australian colonies the remoter Australasian colonies should afterward be entitled to admission, on conditions to be subsequently arranged. The phrase "the remoter Australasian colonies" was intended to include New Zealand, as well as Fiji, both of which are within the purview of the Federal Council Act, the crown colony of Fiji being, moreover, actually represented on the existing loose Federal Council. Federation resolutions, for appointing delegates to the conference of 1891 to be held at Sydney, were passed in 1890 by all the Australasian Parliaments, and at the beginning of March of the present year the convention met.

The leading member of the convention was, of course, Sir Henry Parkes—an old man of boundless energy and much rugged power, who has completely dominated the assembly. He is not Australian born, and considering that Australia is no longer a young country, for we have among us an elderly bishop whose father was born in New South Wales, it is curious that little more than a third of the leading men of Australasia who appeared at the convention were "native born." The framers of the American Constitution were all born Americans. But of the 45 Australasian delegates only 16, I think, were "native born," while 12 were born in England, eight in Ireland, six in Scot-

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land, one in Wales, one in the Isle of Man, and one, Sir George Grey (known as the "Grand Old Man of New Zealand," as Sir Henry Parkes is known as the "Grand Old Man of Australia"), born on the continent of Europe. Four of the 45 delegates were Roman Catholics. Taking a cross-division, 18 were lawyers; eight belonged to the squatter aristocracy; eight were commercial men. Among them were all the Prime Ministers of Australia, although not the Prime Minister of New Zealand. Next to Sir Henry Parkes the leading members of the convention were Sir George Grey, Sir Harry Atkinson, the late Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Deakin and Mr. Duncan Gillies, of Victoria, and Sir Samuel Griffith, of Queensland. Sir Henry Parkes was born in Warwickshire before Waterloo; worked as a child in the fields and in rope works; was apprenticed at the age of 12 to a Birmingham ivory and wood turner, and emigrated at the age of 24 to Australia, where he worked at first as a farm labourer, and then in a dry-goods store, then became a petty customs officer, and then set up a toy shop—working at the lathe and devoting his leisure to poetry and politics. He afterward established the "Empire," a daily newspaper of the popular party, and in 1854 was returned to the first Parliament of New South Wales. Since that time he has been fourteen years Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, and for eleven years Prime Minister. The career of Sir George Grey is almost as remarkable as is that of Sir Henry Parkes. He was born in 1812. In 1837, when an officer in the British army, he became the first explorer of the southern part of Western Australia, then Governor of South Australia, then Governor of New Zealand, then Governor of the Cape, then again Governor of New Zealand and author of the New Zealand Constitution; after which he left the "colonial service," being recalled by the home government, and then settled in New Zealand and became Prime Minister, and after that leader of the Radical party. In his old age he advocates the election of colonial governors, the Henry George scheme of single tax, the nationalization of coal mines, and other advanced measures, which sound oddly when they fall from the eloquent lips of this old gentleman, a K.C.B., a D.C.L. of Oxford, and an ex-officer of the British army. The other New Zealand delegates, if they had

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also about them a military tinge, had nothing of the Radical. Sir Harry Atkinson, English born, formerly known as Major Atkinson, had been a most successful Minister of Defence, after his brilliant service in command of the militia in the Maori war, before he became Prime Minister; and Captain Russell, also English born, had held a commission in the British army, and also belongs to the New Zealand aristocracy.

The Victorian members were of a different type, and the two most distinguished among them, the former leaders of the coalition government recently displaced from power, Mr. Duncan Gillies and Mr. Deakin, have nothing about them either military or aristocratic. The Prime Minister of Victoria, indeed, was one of the Victorian delegates, but Mr. Munro was altogether eclipsed at Sydney by the leaders who had been beaten by him in the Victorian Parliament. Mr. Munro and Mr. Gillies are both Scotch born and are of about the same age. Mr. Munro had been a printer in Edinburgh before he emigrated at the age of 26 and settled in Victoria as a printer, though he afterward became engaged in industry as a capitalist. Mr. Gillies I described fully in my "Problems of Greater Britain;" as is also the case with his colleague Mr. Deakin. Mr. Gillies had been a digger, having emigrated during the gold fever, and had been returned to Parliament by the diggers and kept by them on wages, but had become by his ability in debate the leader of the Victorian Conservative party. Mr. Deakin, the leader of the Liberal party, is the man of greatest promise in all Australia; "native born," for he saw the light in Melbourne in 1856, a barrister, a journalist, a great administrator, a man of extraordinary eloquence and immense charm.

Mr. Barton, of New South Wales, who, in addition to those well-known statesmen that I have specially named above, took an active part, is also Australian born, although an older man than Mr. Deakin, and he is one of those who improved their position by their appearance at the convention. Mr. Barton must now be looked upon as one of the future leaders of the Australian people. Mr. Dibbs, still older, is also Australian born; but has probably less future than either Mr. Deakin or Mr. Barton. Several of the representatives of New South Wales are well-

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known free traders, as is Captain Russell, of New Zealand; and the most prominent among the free-trade representatives of the mother colony at the convention, after the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Parkes, was Mr. McMillan, a member of the firm founded at Sydney by his relatives, the McArthurs, the ablest and wisest representative of high finance in the Australian Parliaments.

From Queensland came Sir Samuel Griffith, who brought with him the other leader of the coalition, Sir Thomas McIlwraith, but who wielded at the convention far more power than his colleague. Sir Samuel Griffith is a Welshman, who at the age of nine years emigrated with his father, who had been a Congregationalist minister at Merthyr; he was educated at Sydney University and has for some years been one of the leading men, if not the leading man, upon the Australasian Federal Council. Sir Thomas McIlwraith, a Scotchman educated at Glasgow University, who annexed New Guinea without the consent of the mother country (and who all through his career as Prime Minister was greatly hampered by his then bitter opponent but present colleague—the present Prime Minister, Sir Samuel Griffith), has a high reputation in Australia and is free from the "viewy" Radicalism of Sir Samuel Griffith. The two together make about as powerful a combination (proportionately speaking) as though in England in 1880 Mr. Gladstone had joined forces with Lord Beaconsfield.

The representatives of South Australia and Tasmania bear a high reputation in their own colonies, but are little known outside Australia. The same may be said of Mr. Forrest, of Western Australia, who, however, is known to the Geographical Society of Great Britain, of which he is a gold medallist, as a remarkable explorer. He brought with him Sir James Lee Steere, son of a former member of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, who has wielded much power on the Federal Council, but who at the preliminary federal conference at Melbourne in 1890 was rudely crushed by Sir Henry Parkes, who told him that the little suburb of Sydney in which he lived had more importance (possessing a larger population and more trade) than the whole colony of Western Australia.

Such were the chief men gathered at Sydney. Characteris-

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tically, being mainly Britons, and Australians themselves being Britons as far as dining goes, they began their labors by a banquet. At this the Prime Ministers all spoke; but Sir Henry Parkes set the keynote by an ultra-loyal speech made by him in proposing the toast to the Queen, which was telegraphed word for word to England, and which was obviously intended to quiet imperial feeling upon the point of possible separation.

When the convention met, the Prime Minister of Victoria moved, and Sir Samuel Griffith, the Prime Minister of Queensland, seconded, a motion that Sir Henry Parkes, the Prime Minister of New South Wales, should be president of the convention, with the understanding that he should be expected to take as full and free a part in the debates as though he had not been elected to the chair. At the second sitting notice was given by Mr. McMillan, on behalf of Sir Henry Parkes, of the resolutions which were to form the basis for the deliberations; and in these, which have been carried with little change, we may see that Sir Henry Parkes had already modified his views as previously put forward, so as to avoid much possible opposition, and had virtually replaced his first idea of a Canadian constitution by that of a constitution of what we call the American type, though trans-Atlantic leaders will, perhaps, not recognize it as such.

The first resolution was to the effect that the powers and territorial rights of the several colonies should remain intact except in respect of such surrenders as might be agreed upon as necessary to the authority of the federal government.

This resolution not only vetoed anything like Canadian centralization, but also raised the difficulty (which is one of the greatest real difficulties in the way of federation of the kind proposed) that every one admits that Queensland and South Australia must speedily be divided, while Queensland and South Australia themselves may not be able to furnish a majority in favor of division.

The second resolution stated that intercolonial trade must be free; a doctrine which is admitted by the majority of the Victorian protectionists, and which to the New South Wales free-traders means that they give up free trade as regards the world to secure free trade within Australia; but which involves the second of

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the greatest difficulties in the way of the acceptance of federation by all the colonies, namely, that South Australian protectionists and those of some other colonies may still desire protection against the manufacturers of Victoria. The third and fourth resolutions, concerning customs duties and federal defense, were obvious and inevitable; and then the resolutions turned to the framing of a federal constitution.

Sir Henry Parkes laid down the necessity of having an elective Senate representing provinces, and a popular chamber elected on a population base, possessing the sole power of originating and amending taxing bills. It was on this last point that the greatest difference of opinion manifested itself at the convention, the representatives of the less populous colonies (to be equally represented in the Senate with Victoria and New South Wales, the populous and wealthy states) naturally desiring to give that body equal powers with the popular House, in which New South Wales and Victoria would, if agreed, be absolutely dominant. The resolutions next proposed the creation of a federal "supreme court" as a final high court of appeal for Australia. On this point also much debate at once arose, Mr. Barton pointing out that the endeavour in Canada to get rid of the jurisdiction of the Privy Council for the Dominion had been a fruitless one, because the imperial government had refused to assent to such a transfer of power. Mr. Barton, however, thought that, though it was doubtful if the imperial government would now assent to the exclusion of the Privy Council, the provision should nevertheless be inserted. He admitted that assent to it might be refused, and that the refusal would provoke dissatisfaction. Mr. Deakin had argued that, in cases where imperial interests were concerned, and where the uniformity of interpretation of the law might be endangered by the exclusion of the Privy Council, there might be exceptions made, and Mr. Barton in his reply did not appear wholly to shut out that possibility. For my part, I should prefer to see the Privy Council receive into its ranks the most distinguished of colonial legists and become a Pan-Britannic supreme court. No form of British unity could so strongly tend to keep us one people to the end of time—one in law as in race and tongue. The clause as afterward

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carried in the bill is similar to the Canadian clause, and acceptable to those who hold my view. The last of the resolutions specified the British system, as contrasted with that of the United States, that is, that ministers should sit in Parliament and depend on the confidence of the House of Representatives as expressed by the support of a majority.

It was at once decided that the press and the public should be admitted to the sittings, and then Sir Henry Parkes made a moderate speech in favor of his resolutions.

I shall only very briefly mention the debates, as it is chiefly with results that we must concern ourselves. Sir Samuel Griffith contended that the proposal to give the House of Representatives sole power over money bills, except that the Senate would have the power of rejection, was inconsistent with the independence of the Senate as representing what Sir Henry Parkes had called provinces but what he called states. He was supported by the Prime Minister of Tasmania upon this point.

Mr. Deakin put in, on behalf of the protectionists, a plea for a proviso that a certain time should be given before vested interests, the results of protection, were interfered with.

The debate on the resolutions was divided into two parts—a general debate and a debate in committee, resolution by resolution. The first half of the debate was concluded by Sir Henry Parkes in a powerful reply. He again quarreled with the Western Australian delegates and said that if they were going to hold aloof from federation, as they had hinted, so might the mother colony. He strongly supported his own original view as to the different powers that should be given to the two Houses in dealing with money bills. It having been suggested that, by the very words of the constitution, the federal ministry should personally and directly represent all the colonies, Sir Henry Parkes opposed that being laid down as a condition, and he also opposed the responsibility of the federal ministry to both Houses of Parliament, instead of to the popular House alone, which had been asked for by the representatives of some of the less populous colonies.

In committee, the first two clauses of Sir Henry Parkes's resolutions were carried, apparently without change. The third

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clause was carried with slight alterations, and the fourth, as to federal defense, without debate. On the first clause of the second part of the resolutions, dealing with the constitution of the federal Parliament and the powers of the two Houses, Sir John Downer, on behalf of South Australia, moved an amendment giving the Senate the power of amending money bills. He was strongly opposed by the representatives of Victoria and New South Wales, but supported by Sir Thomas McIlwraith on behalf of Queensland, by the Prime Minister of his own colony, and by one of the Tasmanian representatives. The clause was then referred to a select committee, and ultimately passed, as we shall soon see, almost in the form in which it had been recommended by Sir Henry Parkes, but only by an ominously small majority. Here, then, is the first rift—the danger that the less populous colonies will refuse to accept the provisions of the bill as to the Senate having, in money matters, only the power of the House of Lords, on which Victoria and New South Wales seem likely to insist.

The federal supreme court clause was carried in an amended form which, as has been said, appears to follow Canadian precedent, and to create a high court of appeal, but not necessarily a final court of appeal as against the Privy Council. A new clause was inserted, distinctly specifying that territorial divisions should not be made so as to create new states without the consent of the states concerned—another rift, for the reasons applying to Queensland and South Australia which have been given; but one less likely to cause actual break-down than the one with regard to the Senate which has just been named; less, too, than the difficulty as to the choice of a capital, which was not faced at all, or than the protectionist fear of Victorian manufactures.

It was next decided to prepare a bill for the establishment of a federal constitution, to be submitted to the convention with the view that it should afterward be placed before the Parliaments of the various colonies. The bill was presented on the 31st of March and considered in committee on the 1st of April.

The first division was on the title, and that of "The Commonwealth of Australia" was carried by 26 votes to 13. It is a thoroughly Anglo-Saxon title, often employed for the state or

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the community in monarchical times in England; as, for example, in the translation of the Bible. Sir George Grey moved an amendment in favor of the election of the governor-general by the people, which was negatived by 35 to 3. It was decided that, pending the adoption of a uniform tariff, present duties should remain in force.

By the draft bill as passed, which, however, requires action on the part of both the imperial and the colonial Parliaments to make it law in any colony, the Federal Council Act is to be repealed. There is to be a governor-general with a salary of not less than £10,000 a year, and a Senate and House of Representatives, whose members are to receive £500 a year apiece. The Senate is to consist of eight members from each state, chosen by the Parliaments of the states, half retiring every three years.

The South Australians having again moved their amendment in favor of giving the Senate equal power with the lower House with respect to all bills, were beaten, but only by 22 to 16. The bill as carried, however, contains a compromise, by which the Senate may return money bills to the House of Representatives with a message requesting it to amend such bills, on which the popular House may or may not act.

The House of Representatives is to be elected every three years by the people of the several states in proportion to their population, on a basis of one member for every 30,000 people. The suffrage for this purpose is to be that adopted by themselves for the election of their own popular House.

The constitution of the Australian commonwealth, as provisionally adopted, does not make Australia one great state such as the Canadian Dominion, but, subject to the consent of the Parliaments of the various colonies, creates a series of federal statelets more or less loosely attached to one another. It may have been a necessity of the condition of affairs existing in America after the revolutionary war that the least populous state should have been given equal representation in the Senate with the most powerful. There all alike were sovereign; but it seems unfortunate that in a brand new Senate in Australia, where within the lifetime of living men there was but one colony, there should be such semi-sovereign rights conceded, contrary to the principle

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of population, to Tasmania and Western Australia. However, practical politicians are always in the position of making the best of things and accepting conditions as they find them, and as Australian federation cannot be brought about without the consent of the smaller colonies, it has doubtless been necessary to buy that consent by political concessions. It might have been better to have bought the provinces as they were bought in Canada, by lavish expenditure upon public works and special arrangements with regard to debts and borrowed money. As far as it is possible to be certain as yet of the final condition in which the draft bill passed the convention, it would seem that the central government in Australia is not to possess the exclusive power to regulate criminal law and the appointment of the superior judges. If this be so, the difference in this respect between the Australian and the Canadian constitutions, and the following by Australia of the plan pursued in the United States, will lead to difficulties such as that now pending between the State of Louisiana and the government at Washington. Such occurrences are almost sure to happen in northern Queensland with regard to the position of the Chinese and other alien races. The inability of the Australian commonwealth, even after the bill shall have been carried through all the Parliaments, to carve out fresh states or provinces without local consent, which it may be very difficult to obtain, is, as has been suggested, another singularly weak point in the new constitution.

Slight, however, as is the federal tie created by the bill, when contrasted with that which exists in Canada, it may be difficult enough to bring into existence by the consent of all the Parliaments. The Victorian Prime Minister has said that he thought that the difficulty raised by the less populous colonies insisting on the power of the Senate to amend money bills might be sufficient to defeat the object for which the convention was called. If such claims in respect of the powers of the Senate were persisted in, he doubted whether Victoria and New South Wales, with two thirds of the population and two thirds of the wealth, and with only one third of the representation in the Senate, would ever give such a body power to amend tax bills. On the other hand, it is probable that if Victoria and New South Wales

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insist on having their own way upon this point and retaining the words of the bill as passed, some, if not all, of the less populous states may stand out. The Canadian Dominion was not constituted all at once. Federation was begun by the two Canadas and two of the maritime provinces in 1867. Manitoba and the North-west came in in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, and Prince Edward Island only in 1873, while Newfoundland still holds out. It is conceivable that Victoria and New South Wales, possibly with one or two of the other colonies, may found a commonwealth without waiting for the whole of the colonies to come in; although the existence of the Federal Council is perhaps a difficulty in the way, as the imperial government and Parliament may not feel disposed to pass an act to destroy one imperfect federation in order to substitute another little more complete. If, however, a commonwealth comes into existence by imperial and local legislation, it is of course possible that it may gradually grow by subsequent legislation into a more complete federal union, as the Swiss confederation has gradually grown in the same direction.

The draft bill as "passed" provides that the governors of the states are to be appointed by the local Parliaments as these think fit; that the seat of government shall be determined by the federal Parliament, and until so determined shall be fixed by a majority of the governors of states. It provides for constitutional amendments by laws to be passed by an absolute majority of both Houses and thereafter to be submitted to conventions elected by the electors of the several states qualified to vote for the election of members of the House of Representatives. If a constitutional amendment is approved by the conventions of a majority of the states, it is to become law, subject to the Queen's power of disallowance. There is, however, a proviso that no amendment by which the proportionate representation of any state in either House of Parliament of the commonwealth is diminished, shall become law without the consent of the convention of that state. This clause, of course, prevents any change in the constitution of the Senate whereby the less populous states should have their representation in that body diminished, compared with that of the greater states. Generally speaking, the

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alterations made in committee did not affect the principles of the bill.

In closing the convention Sir Henry Parkes congratulated the body and Australia on the rapidity with which events had marched, although he admitted that possibly the time for actual federation had not arrived. Sir Samuel Griffith then moved that as soon as the constitution had been adopted by three colonies the imperial government be requested to take action to establish the constitution in respect of those colonies, and this was carried. Queensland, no doubt, intends to try to come to terms with Victoria and New South Wales, in the hope that South Australia and Tasmania will then come in and that Western Australia may be bought.

New Zealand, it was understood, would not favour immediate entrance into federation. The opinion of New Zealand, as expressed by Sir George Grey on behalf of the Radicals of the imperial school, and by other delegates representing a more conservative opinion, is that the "Britain of the South" is so distant from Australia that early union would be impossible. It may, however, prove possible for New Zealand to arrive at a reciprocity treaty with Australia, as regards trade. Sir George Grey is a believer in imperial federation of a loose kind; and imperial federation is more generally favoured by the New Zealand colonists than by those of Australia. Sir George Grey, however, thinks that a barrier against the participation of New Zealand in Australian federation is to be found in the coloured labour question, which he believes is one of the first difficulties which an Australian federal Parliament will have to face. He has declared that the northern territories, if they are to be worked at all, must be worked with coloured labour, and although he is opposed to the employment of Chinese labour, thinks that Kanakas and Indian coolies might wisely be employed in the North. Sir George Grey's information differs entirely from my own, which is to the effect that, even in the event of a division of the colony of Queensland, the majority of the people in the North would oppose the introduction of coloured labour; and I regard it as most unlikely that this question will be raised in the federal Parliament should it meet, or at least be raised with

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the slightest chance of a reversal of the recent policy of exclusion of coloured labour. No doubt the growing of tropical produce upon the northern coast will be prevented if I am right, but I firmly believe that the Australian people have made up their minds that the continent is to be reserved for white men, and that those industries which cannot be supported by white labour are not to be encouraged upon Australian soil.

It is to be noted among secondary points that, except as regards the speeches of Sir Henry Parkes, all effusive expressions of loyalty were absent from the gathering; but, on the other hand, Mr. Dibbs was the only leading delegate who distinctly stated that the ultimate destiny of Australia was to be a republic. Mr. Gillies replied to Mr. Dibbs that the idea of the foundation of an Australian republic could "only belong to the minds of men" who were "living a century from now." Sir George Grey, without mentioning the word "republic," advocated, as we have seen, the election of the governor-general, as against his nomination by the Queen. Sir George Grey explained, however, in his most eloquent speech, that he did not desire that the connection with the monarchy should cease, but thought that if the governor-general was elective as he proposed, the Sovereign of England would still be represented by him and be a member of the Australian legislature.

The Western Australian delegates suggested that there would be much difficulty in inducing their colony to join the federation, and they virtually asked for money, as I read their words.

On the 9th of April the convention came to a close, and a certain reaction was at once observable in the colonial press and in the speeches of colonial statesmen. Two by-elections in New South Wales have been carried by anti-federalists. The "Age," which has influence as the organ of the protectionist party—known in Victoria as the Liberal party—and to which Mr. Deakin and many of his former colleagues are contributors, has pointed out that the convention itself is "strictly subordinate" to the Parliaments which created it, and that its work has to be reviewed on independent terms by seven distinct Parliaments. The representatives of New Zealand had been present "from motives of friendship rather than with any serious intention of

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taking a share in later developments," and from one or other of the remaining six Parliaments there were certain to come suggested alterations. Although Sir Henry Parkes, as a free trader and a representative of a free-trade colony, went very far in practically yielding the point of protection against the world, certain to be adopted in any federal Parliament, the Victorian protectionists insist that the question is a vital one and must not be "left to the mercy of federal caprice," and have declared that it would be absurd to submit to a Victorian Parliament a plan of federation which makes no mention of protection; and the "Age" has written that it would be better to let federation wait than risk the loss of the benefits arising from protection. Unless the object of the "Age" is to prevent the new federation from being brought into existence, it is difficult to see the object of insisting upon amendments upon this point, given the fact that there is not the slightest practical chance of the adoption of general free trade by an Australian Parliament. Sir Henry Parkes and the free-trade mother colony have certainly made an enormous concession of principle in virtually accepting protection at the hand of the other colonies in order to secure federation, and it is asking too much of them to insist that what has been virtually conceded shall be, by an altogether exceptional provision, definitely inserted in the constitution act. It is, moreover, difficult to see in what form a binding protectionist declaration could be made.

Generally speaking, I should myself have preferred to have seen Australia regard itself more as a single federal state, and less as a body of separate states united only for the common purposes of defense and trade, and should have wished to see state or provincial rights more strictly defined and more absolutely subordinated to the Australian common government. Even now, however, there may be many a slip. It will be difficult to induce Victoria and New South Wales respectively to be content to accept views forced upon them in each case by the rival and equally powerful colony assisted by some of the smaller states. The convention has separated without attempting to fix a capital for the future commonwealth, and this in itself is a sign of weakness. Sir Henry Parkes was favourable

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to making Albury an Ottawa or a Washington, but did not venture to bring the proposal forward at the convention, for fear of exciting the jealousy of the great capital cities of the two chief states; and a suggestion has been thrown out that the government of the Australian commonwealth should be an itinerant show. Although the difficulty of the capital and some others have been evaded, it is even now probable that when the bill is submitted to the colonial Parliaments, many will attack it as a surrender of local liberties and demand amendments which it will be difficult to concede. Western Australia seems almost certain to hold off until it can deal with an already established commonwealth, which will be able to give it definite advantages, such as those by which Canada brought British Columbia into union. It is now suggested that the British Parliament should pass a bill which will put an end to the existing Federal Council and create the new commonwealth so soon as colonies representing three fourths of the population of Australia are prepared to federate, so that the assent of the legislatures of Victoria, New South Wales, and one other colony would be sufficient.

Difficulties may possibly be raised not only by colonial Parliaments, but by the imperial Parliament. It is conceivable, but most unlikely, that an attempt will be made in Parliament to make the Australian Constitution more like the Canadian by using the word "provinces" instead of "states" for the present colonies, by giving the governor-general through the federal cabinet the appointment of the lieutenant-governors, and by intrusting the central government, not—as is proposed—only with the matters named and with the matters definitely referred to it by the Parliament of any state, but, as in Canada, with all matters not exclusively assigned to the provinces. Above all, Parliament may conceivably decide that it is desirable that the criminal law shall be the same throughout Australia as it is throughout Canada, a provision not contained in the Australian bill. It is far more probable, however, that the interference of the home government and of Parliament will concern matters where the mother country might be brought into conflict with foreign powers. The Australian draft constitution gives to the federal body the control of treaties and of relations with the Pacific countries,

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the exercise of legislative powers with respect to Australia at present exercised by the imperial Parliament, and control of the affairs of the people of any race regarding whom it is deemed necessary to make special laws not applicable to the general community. That the federal body should have these powers as against the separate colonies or states is obviously right, but if what is meant is that it is to obtain new powers, not at present handed over by the imperial Parliament to any colonial authority, the government and Parliament of the mother country must of course understand exactly what is meant and make up their minds how far they can safely go in trusting the Australians with the control of treaties and of their own foreign affairs. I myself am favorable to the concessions which will be asked for by Australia, but the action of the home government in the Newfoundland case is not encouraging.

I have written of the United States and of the Canadian systems as though Australia had had to choose between the two and had chosen the system of the United States; and this is so as regards points which to us appear the principal to be considered. The main difference lies in the uniformity in Canada of the criminal law, the nomination of the lieutenant-governors by the central cabinet, and the existence in the federal Parliament of power to legislate on all matters where the reverse has not been specified. In these matters, and in some others, Australia has failed to follow Canadian example. But to American readers the differences between their Constitution and that proposed for the Australian commonwealth will be more striking than the resemblances. The members of the cabinet are intended to sit in Parliament. They are to be responsible to the House of Representatives and dependent upon the support of a majority, and not, as in the United States, the ministers of an independent executive authority, able to act for a time in opposition to the country's will. In practice, also, the authority of the governor will be that of the most constitutional of constitutional kings, and very inferior to and very different from the authority of a president of the United States. There is, too, great difference of local feeling between the Australians and your people. The Australians are state socialists, and although

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their new constitution proposes to recognize the independence of the states in a far higher degree than that in which it has been allowed to exist in Canada, yet it vests the virtual control of the whole railway system of Australia in the federal power, which will be a shock to your American minds, whether north or south of the Canadian border line.

A reason why I should have wished that Australia should have been made one by her new constitution concerns the inferiority of some of her existing Parliaments and the brilliant ability of some of her statesmen at present confined within spheres too small for them. Sir Henry Parkes is too big for New South Wales; Mr. Deakin's sympathies are too wide for Victorian limits; and Australia, which might produce a federal cabinet of seven members of the highest powers, with a federal opposition of seven leading statesmen ready to take their place and of almost equal fame, fritters her men away upon a number of small Parliaments, in some of which the level is very low. Coalition governments have succeeded in Victoria and have done something for that colony, and are being tried in Queensland and some others; but a coalition government for all Australia in a strong federal Parliament might bring about an era of social progress and a trial of state socialistic experiments such as the world has not yet seen—and probably would do so. The great majority of Australians have confidence in the power of the state to do much for the people, and in the wisdom of its exercising this power. You in the United States; the Canadians across their border; the continental governments, are far behind even old England in this respect, and it would be of advantage to the world that Australia, which is much before us all, should have the opportunity of putting its doctrines into practice upon the largest scale.

I cannot better conclude this article than by stating that if Australia comes together she will start as the eighth state in the world in wealth and revenue and trade, and indeed in all points except population. Her population is but four millions, but they are four millions of the best.

CHARLES W. DILKE

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IMMIGRATION AND THE TARIFF.

A LARGE number of people in the United States who have no latent prejudices against foreigners as a class, are at this moment seriously considering the wisdom of a stringent restriction of immigration. They affect to believe that the phenomenal assimilative powers of the Republic have at last reached their limits, and that the digestive functions of the state are being seriously disordered by the wholesale reception of incongruous, crude, and antagonistic elements of population. They insist that, vast as is the area of the Republic, and great as are its assimilative powers, they are not equal to the voracity of the national mouth at the barge office in New York. They are seriously discussing the wisdom of extending to certain other countries some features of the Chinese Exclusion Act, if that be possible. In some instances foreign-born workmen join in demanding the general restriction of immigration, while representatives in Congress from the South, where the foreign-born vote is comparatively light—men who cannot, therefore, be accused of pandering to naturalized citizens—are among the sturdiest opponents of restrictive measures. This latter fact may be attributed partly to a general dislike of anything antagonistic to the broad liberality of the Jeffersonian school, and partly to a dread of the numerical or political supremacy of the Negroes. Besides, a man looking on the vast, fertile, and as yet sparsely-peopled sections of the South-west is not apt to dread unrestricted immigration as much as he who daily views the scenes of our great cities and those of mining and railroad centers.

It is not my purpose to express any opinion on the wisdom or the folly of leaving immigration unrestricted, but I certainly have no part in any general distrust of the foreigners who share our citizenship, nor in any prejudice against immigrants from other lands. The adult man sound in body and mind, of good character and industrious habits, intelligent, with some elemen-

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tary knowledge of our institutions, whether he is skilled or unskilled, who comes to the United States deliberately in order to better himself as a man, intending to live and die here, to rear children, to make a home, and to become a devoted and loyal citizen, is a great national blessing to us, and should be received with a hearty welcome, from whatever land he may come. He is a rich gift from the land which suckled, nursed, reared, fed, protected, and trained him until it handed him over to us a "ready-made" man, with two strong hands, a clear head, and an honest heart. A hearty welcome to him, whether he be Saxon or Celt, Norseman, Latin, Slav, or Teuton! Let him ply his strong arms and skilled fingers with all his energy, study our ways, learn our language, be of us and with us, and we will be for him against the world.

There is, however, another immigrant who is not desirable. It is not so much his individuality that weighs against him as the circumstances that fling him, as it were, on our shores. He is the unfortunate wretch who, without choice or provision, is chased by starvation and immediate necessity, together with his more wretched family, into the crowded hold of a great steamship, to seek the market closed by a prohibitory tariff to the goods which he produced in his native land. He comes here, in most instances, seeking temporary relief from grinding poverty, with intention to return with his gain to the land of his birth. We have shut out the cheap foreign watch, blanket, tin sheet, glass pane, and steel rail; but the cheaper foreign worker, hand to hand with hunger, underbids American labor in the home market that we boast was made for it alone. We have reared around our custom houses, by our inhibition of foreign goods, adamantine walls high enough to stop the free movement of the winds of heaven, and deep enough to shut out natural gas or drinking water from Canada and Mexico; but around our immigrant depots, against the great swelling tide of immigration, we have strung a few statutory cobwebs!

However conservative one may be regarding sweeping tariff-reduction, and however little in sympathy with radical opposition to moderate protection, yet he must concede that immigration and the tariff are closely interwoven and should be

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considered relatively as affecting each other. In the holds of the ships from which we have excluded foreign freight humanity takes its place. If we wish to furnish a paradisaical home market to American labor, should we not follow a prohibitory tariff against foreign goods by a general exclusion law against foreign men? If we do not prohibit foreign workers, is it not a crime against our own people to mislead these aliens with the pleasant fictions intended for home consumption? Suppose it were stated by Italian immigration agents that it is made obligatory by law that every laboring man in the United States shall receive eight dollars for every eight hours' work, while, at the same time, laboring men in Italy are receiving eight cents per day and the price of passage in "tramp" steamships to this country is eight dollars. On this statement of the situation in a steamship advertisement, the numbers that would augment our industrial army from Italy would depend almost wholly on the capacity of the steamers and on the number of Italian workmen who could secure the passage money. Now suppose that on arriving here they should soon discover that indirectly there is collected from them every day as a tax on the necessaries of life, if they live as American workers do, seven dollars and ninety cents, giving them two cents a day to compensate for the radical change in their condition of life and for the difference between the climate of Pittsburgh and that of Palermo—would you be surprised if, thus disillusioned, vast bodies of them should swell the armies of the discontented, and, engaging in riot, should be shot down by private police or public militia?

In this discussion it must be remembered that electricity and steam, triple-expansion engines and fast express trains have combined to make the whole world very small and neighborly. These great, fast steamships rushing up our bay, swarming with human beings who crowd into our free labor market with pressing necessity forcing them to lowest prices, are boring holes with their twin screws in the logic of the McKinley Bill. "Well," say the advocates of the prohibitory tariff, "we will add to the laws that restrict immigration. We will have consular examinations of intending immigrants, or we will compel all candidates for admission into our country to speak the English language."

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Aside from the facts that undue restrictions, such as linguistic tests, are not in keeping with American principles, and that consular examinations, unless an enormous clerical force is employed, are well-nigh impracticable, nothing short of exclusion, backed by an army of government detectives and a cordon of gunboats, will ever successfully keep out the tide which very high and stiff artificial barriers against the interchange of commodities are bound to create. The present law against certain classes of immigrants is, I believe, so far as the port of New York is concerned, well and zealously enforced, and yet those excluded are mere drops from the great sea which flows over our land.

If, for instance, the present prohibitory tariff should effectually close the American market to the product of the Welsh tin mills or of the Austrian pearl-button factories, the Welsh and Austrian operatives whose home manufactories would consequently be closed, and who would be forced to come to our "home market"—with intention to return home again as soon as possible, with some little resentment, perhaps, against us, and certainly with no love for our country—would perhaps meet the requirements of the most stringent restrictive immigrant law, and yet be a most undesirable addition to our population. Such an immigrant is forced to come; he comes sullenly and regretfully; he does not come intending to stay or to be assimilated; he comes under the pain and pinch of a necessity which our laws have forced upon him; he lands here generally with a family dependent upon him and with little or no means; and yet he is not a pauper within the meaning of the law. He lingers where he lands, unless an employer selects him from among the vast number of our own unemployed and pays his fare to a distance because, in the free and unprotected labor market, he has underbid the native workman. Frequently he becomes a chattel, a serf, with a number instead of a name, a piece of brutalized, degraded, human machinery, consigned in a freight car to some great corporation. Or, as in the case of the supposed Italian workman alluded to above, he has read on the dead walls of European cities the steamship advertisements in which, in the glowing periods and resplendent imagery of the "spellbinders" of our election campaigns, the Eden in which American working-

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men luxuriate is strikingly described; and he hastens hither, to be disillusioned and to join the growing ranks of the reckless and radically discontented. With our prohibitory tariff against goods, if we wish to repress the tremendous immigration of most undesirable elements, we must declare war not only against commerce, but against international comity, and arrest men as well as packs of sheep's wool, tin dinner pails, and coat buttons. Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts, evidently appreciates, judging from the bill that he introduced into the last Congress, that our laws must be strong and stringent enough to stop men as well as packing cases on our quays.

A joyous shout went up from the chief advocates of the McKinley Bill, after its passage, when the cable brought news that Europe was filled with rumors of industries that had been ruined by the loss of their American market. Was that really good news for the American workingmen? Our law closes a European shop and throws out of employment thousands of workmen; with land monopoly, costly governments, dense populations, few opportunities for advancement, and a restrictive caste system, they have in many cases to choose between the poorhouse and the emigrant ship. That ship sails, in nearly all instances, to the United States, and her hunger-driven cargo—"the pauper labor of Europe"—is soon in sharp and deadly competition with the American workingman. Oh, but our dreaded rival, the foreign manufacturer, whom you must fear equally with his workmen—have we not put him out of our way? Yes, perhaps, but only to place him in a still more dangerous opposition to our best interests. He closes his factory, counts his gains, and goes neither to the emigrant ship nor to the poorhouse; but he invests his money in a syndicate to purchase American lands or industries, and lives contented and happy thereafter on the fruits of the labor of his American workers. He may curse and detest American institutions, but he must bless American money and consider that under a frowning front, after all, Mr. McKinley is his chief benefactor. American toilers on Illinois farms, on Wyoming cattle ranches, in Colorado mines, in California fruit plantations, in Oregon forests, and in industries generally throughout the country are "protected" against "the degraded serfs" of

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Europe, while giving their hardest labor and best skill to benefit the detested foreigner against whom we inveigh during presidential campaigns. Is it a great national blessing when these gentlemen move their manufacturing plants to our country, bringing, despite our contract-labor law, a whole force of foreign workers, wrenched from their native land by the action of our tariff laws? Is their arrival a benefit to American labor? In some very highly protected occupations a considerable portion of the force consists of foreigners who followed a transplanted industry.* But the American farmer feeds them and is benefited—how? His prices are fixed in the land they left, and he gains no money by feeding them in New Jersey instead of in Austria, Italy, Wales, France, or England.

It would be impossible, in the limits of this article, to set forth the startling figures of foreign ownership of American realty, industries, and corporate interests. The evils of this ownership are generally admitted by leading men of both political parties —such men as Senators Carlisle, Edmunds, and Reagan, Representatives Holman, Payson, and Oates, and many others. When this octopus of alien ownership, largely encouraged by our commercial warfare on mankind through abnormal tariffs, comes to fasten its tentacles on the land, the Republic will be in great danger. The small freeholder, the mainstay of American institutions, will then give place to the wretched dependent of a foreign landlord. That landlord may in time control his tenant's political actions; for the true sovereign is the lord of the land, the man who owns the soil on which others live. In that day our immigration bureaus will be spying out the foreign contract tenant, as well as the laborer.

There are so many ways of avoiding the foreign contract labor provision of the statute book, that at its best it can never be very effective. What contract is necessary to secure the services of an immigrant who comes to this country under inducement to work in the only industry where possibly he could secure employment? Suppose a European mill-owner should to-day address his assembled employees as follows: "This shop closes to-morrow, owing to the fact that the McKinley Bill has

*See the reports of Congressional committees.

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closed our market in the United States. Next week I open a similar establishment in New Jersey, ten miles from the landing-place in New York. Any of you who may emigrate to America will be given first preference for employment. Mr. Hurryem, our foreman, is agent for the Occidental Line of steamers and will give you easy terms." Let every man of them land in New York with five dollars in his pocket, and see the result, in spite of our most carefully devised restrictive immigration laws. Suppose that when they get to the transplanted mill they find the American workers on a strike against a sweeping reduction of wages; what clause of the McKinley Bill will protect these citizens from being supplanted by the invaders? As I write, the following cable dispatch may be seen in the newspapers:

"The effect of the McKinley Bill on the mother-of-pearl workers of Vienna has been serious. Official reports show that out of 6,000 only 1,500 are following their trade. The rest are making a precarious living as best they can."

"Making a precarious living"! Forty-five hundred Austrian fellow-men will soon be clamoring at the doors of the American button factories, and saying to the owners: "Let us in; lower than the lowest price you now pay for labor, we offer ours to swell your profits. Our scanty means, gotten in a 'precarious' way, are expended. The wolf is not at our doors (our only door is that of the almshouse), but he has already fastened his fangs upon us, our wives, and our little ones. We were happy in our native land; we loved our homes, our institutions, our traditions, customs, and habits; but you reached your powerful arm over the sea and took away our bread, and now, perforce, we stand here at your door and beg for work. We did you no harm in the dear old land we left; we ate your wheat and pork, and thought kindly of you and wished you well. We see your own workers here clamoring for work themselves; we are their brothers and do not wish to interfere with them, but hunger is cruel, and these women and children sitting here in your streets, dressed in heavy, honest, European woolens, are tired and hot and very weary under this American summer sun." This is not fancy. Read of the first fruits of a prohibitory tariff.

The Bureau of Statistics reports the total number of immi-

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grants arrived at the ports of the United States during the periods named as follows:

	1890.	1891.
Month of March,.....	35,750	52,172
Three months, ended March 31,.....	64,021	86,048
Nine months, ended March 31,.....	254,403	316,237

I conclude that a very high or substantially prohibitory tariff in the United States is bound to force, in spite of all mere restrictive measures, a large, unhealthy, undesirable, abnormal immigration of those who care nothing, and desire to know less, about our citizenship, an immigration which is inimical to American labor and contrary to the best interests of the whole country. I conclude, also, that it will lead eventually to a dangerous alien ownership of American properties and to alien control of our industries and domestic commerce.

I am fully aware that those who prophesy that economic disaster will follow the violation of natural laws find little favor in our country, because the evils of vicious laws are not immediately apparent. Our country is young and strong and, as yet, robust. Like a strong, lusty young man it can break many of nature's laws with no immediate penalty; but outraged nature overcomes the greatest of giants unless reparation and amendment take the place of audacious and continued violation of her rules. The great steamships coming up New York Bay packed with human beings in all garbs, bearing the impress of all lands, speaking all tongues, whether coming here of free will or forced here with no will, are object lessons which cannot be ignored, and which may suggest thoughts of better things than extensions of the principle of Chinese Exclusion Acts or revivals of the absurd nativism of a past age.

WILLIAM MCADOO.

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THE GREAT COUNT OF 1890.

On the first day of June, 1890, under a provision of the national Constitution, nearly forty-nine thousand enumerators began the great decennial work of counting the inhabitants of the United States; in cities and towns, on farms and ranches, in mining and lumbering camps, along railways and rivers, upon the shore, and high up in mountain ravines. It was the eleventh census. The first had been taken in 1790, the year after the formation of the government under the Constitution. The eleventh was, therefore, to show the changes of a hundred years—the first century of the nation's life. The occasion was one which should have been of the deepest interest to a great, free people.

The importance of the work would seem to have required that the enumeration be opened by a presidential proclamation, invoking the public attention, calling upon all citizens to aid the officers of the law, and demanding, in the name of patriotism and honor, that political and sectional passions and prejudices be laid aside while this great constitutional function was being performed. It is difficult to understand the failure, from the beginning, to usher in the national census in this way. When one considers what the census is to our people, that it is a condition precedent of our form of government, and that by it are to be apportioned both direct taxation and political representation, it would seem as if the mere proprieties of the occasion demanded an executive proclamation, even though no more of practical virtue were expected from it than is supposed to emanate from an annual proclamation appointing a day of thanksgiving and praise or one of fasting and humiliation. But when it is further considered that the census is pre-eminently a work which depends, for its integrity and efficiency, upon public interest and attention, and upon the cheerful co-operation of all classes of citizens and all sorts of people, the failure referred to becomes altogether inexplicable.

When first it was my fortune to be assigned to the superin-

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tendency of the United States census, I besought the President to give to the opening of the enumeration the prestige and *éclat* of a proclamation. General Grant was not indisposed to do so, but the inexorable Department of State interposed its objection. There never had been such a proceeding and therefore there never could be. Reasons were nothing as against precedents; and so the great national canvass was allowed to begin with as little of ceremony and of observation as the annual peregrinations of a village assessor. Is it unreasonable to hope that recent painful experiences will effectually impress on the minds of our rulers the expediency of distinguishing this function as clearly as possible from the ordinary routine work of government, and of publicly invoking for it the good will and active co-operation of all?

The work of the eleventh census began, as was said, on the first of June. In cities the work was generally concluded within two weeks. In rural districts the enumeration was allowed to be protracted through the entire month. In many districts, however, here and there, the canvass, owing to accidents or to unforeseen obstacles, dragged on through some days or weeks longer. In a very few distant and difficult districts its completion was still further delayed; but on the 21st of October the last returns were received, and on the 28th of that month the census office announced the population as 62,480,540, exclusive of "Indians not taxed," according to the phrase of the Constitution. As the result of minor corrections, this total was subsequently changed to 62,622,250, which—whoever may be content or non-content—is destined to stand as the record for 1890.

The count of 1790 showed 3,929,214 inhabitants; so that in the past century the population has increased to nearly sixteenfold its original number. How far this increase has been out of the loins of the men of 1790 and how far it has been due to immigration from foreign countries, we may take another occasion to inquire. More marvelous even than the growth in numbers has been the spread of population westward over territory which was then an unbroken wilderness, roamed over only by savage beasts and savage men. The people of 1790 were found wholly in a narrow tract along the Atlantic shore, except where adventurous colonists, to the number of perhaps two hun-

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dred thousand, had taken up lands amid primeval forests in the valley of the Ohio. The total inhabited area of those days may be roughly given as a quarter of a million square miles. To-day nearly a million and three quarters square miles are more or less densely covered by population. Then the average density of settlement was sixteen to the square mile. To-day it is nearly forty to the square mile, over a seven-fold area.

The moral and physical energy and courage, the intellectual activity and enterprise exhibited by the American people in thus overrunning and occupying, settling and cultivating a million and a half of square miles in the course of a single century, is absolutely unparalleled in the history of mankind. It stands, and will long stand, without a rival among human achievements. Think what it means! an average each year of fifteen thousand square miles—a territory larger than Holland, nearly as large as Switzerland with all its barren mountains! For each ten years a territory as large as Great Britain and Ireland combined, first entered upon, taken up, and annexed to the previously occupied and cultivated area! This story of the geographical process of the national growth is among the marvels of our race; and I confess it is to me not less a subject of admiration than the highest achievements in art, letters, and science, or in conquest and warlike enterprise. No other people could have extended settlement in so short a time over so vast a space. Any other of the great migratory races, Slav or Tartar, would have broken hopelessly down in the effort to compass such a field in such a term of years.

Unfortunately, the natural and proper pride and self-satisfaction with which the record of our first hundred years as a nation should have been made up, has been greatly impaired and diminished by grave and widespread complaints against the count of 1890. It is to these, rather than to gratulation over the undoubted results, that the present paper must be addressed. Certainly there was great popular surprise and disappointment over the announcement made from the census office in October last; and to many persons popular surprise and disappointment are evidence enough. But after a century of censuses we can hardly accept this sort of proof. Experience has shown that dissatisfaction may exist at its maximum where no good reason ap-

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pears; and, again, that the gravest errors of enumeration may pass unnoticed. When the first census was taken, the people were wholly unreconciled to find that they numbered only four millions—indeed, not quite four millions; and Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, in communicating the results to our ministers abroad, formally notified them that the returns were believed to be inadequate, and even kindly undertook, by "figures in red ink," to supply the deficiencies. Yet the course of the three or four censuses which followed showed conclusively that the census of 1790 was minutely accurate; so much so that it became, as we shall see, the base-line from which population could be unerringly projected for the next fifty years.

A census may be criticised in one or all of three different ways: First, this may be done objectively, by direct proof of its inaccuracy adduced from the outside, as when names of actual residents are shown to have been omitted in large numbers. Such proof may be furnished by another count if carried on in such a way as to be itself incontestable, or by bringing forward a multitude of well-authenticated individual cases of omission. Secondly, the census may be criticised by internal evidence, as when the schedules themselves show, upon expert examination, that they have been fraudulently or loosely made up; or as when the resulting statistics fail to agree among themselves, or fail to correspond to proportions which are determined by laws of population so well ascertained and so general in their operation that no large body of people can escape their control. Thirdly, the criticism may be by comparison with preceding and succeeding censuses, as when an enumeration fails, in a degree not to be accounted for by any temporary causes which can be adduced, to take its due place in the series. An illustration of this last method is furnished by the ninth census, which passed without any general adverse criticism at the time, but which the census of 1880 proved to have been in error to a large extent through the southern States.

Direct external evidence against the general integrity of the census, throughout a country so broad and of such widely varying conditions as the United States, is not easily obtained, even if it could be had at all, in the degree which would be necessary

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to condemn the work as a whole. The results of an enumeration carried on over an extended district are not homogeneous. They must differ somewhat in quality—and they may even differ widely—without, perhaps, much blame except in the very worst cases. Hence such a work cannot be appraised by tests applied at random. No matter how well the work in general may have been done, bad spots can always be detected, here and there, by searching scrutiny. On the other hand, against the widest dereliction from duty the conscientiousness of individual supervisors or enumerators will erect a barrier. Not only does the "personal equation" of enumerators and supervisors thus constitute the enumeration of each district, to a certain extent, a thing by itself, but the special liabilities and difficulties of individual districts and regions are such as necessarily to cause great differences in the degrees of accuracy which can possibly be attained. There are rural communities in which it would be inexcusable for a census-taker to omit a single person among five hundred or a thousand. There are other communities in which it would no more be possible for a census-taker to secure the name of every resident than it would be for an accomplished angler to catch the last trout in a stream. Since, therefore, a census is never all good or all bad, it cannot be judged as a whole by the number and kind of tests which the heedless, impatient character of our people will be likely to cause to be made. Especially when such tests are applied at the instance of aggrieved municipalities, or are carried on in a partisan spirit, are they unlikely to do more than render the public mind uneasy and dissatisfied, without affording any measure of the degree of error, or even proving that the census as a whole is defective.

The most important instance of an attempt to secure external evidence against the eleventh census is afforded by the painful case of New York City. It will never cease to be a source of regret that the administration at Washington did not take the initiative in this matter and direct a re-enumeration, as was done in the case of both New York and Philadelphia in 1870. Such a course would have delayed for a few weeks the final announcement of the result for the whole country; and might, in consequence, have prevented the reapportionment of representation

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in Congress during the last session. But this would not have been a high price to pay for setting at rest the complaints—whether well founded or ill founded—of the press and the municipal authorities of New York, and for saving, to a great extent, the prestige of the whole census. As it is, the record is made up with a very unhappy state of things: a national enumeration which credits the city with 1,515,301 inhabitants, and a police count 197,000 in excess. Such a contradiction in terms, whatever value one may attribute to the enumeration under municipal authority, cannot fail permanently to impair the satisfaction felt in the centennial canvass of the country.

It is not possible to explain away the difference. It is true that the police count was made at a time when tens of thousands had returned to the city from seaside and mountain. It is true that the police count did not refer back to the census date, June 1, and that the large natural growth of the city during the interval, amounting to some thousands each month, was included in the later enumeration. It is true that the foreign arrivals at the port during the autumn were extremely heavy, and that an unusually large proportion of these stayed in the city. But after all reasonable allowance has been made on these accounts, there remains an enormous difference, which can only mean that one or the other of these enumerations was inexcusably wrong. Either the census officers throughout large districts did their work with culpable negligence, or else the police who were set to follow them made their canvass recklessly and wantonly, counting people at their places of business and again where they lived; counting not only the guests at hotels (most of whom had their "usual place of abode" away from New York), but including the guests of many successive days; counting residents of New Jersey and Brooklyn trading or working in New York; counting anybody and everybody whose name they could secure. One or the other of the two censuses must have been in the wrong in the ways and to the degree indicated.

As between the two enumerations thus strongly contrasted, the presumption is, on general principles, in favor of that conducted by the general government. Police censuses and school censuses have often been shown to be untrustworthy. The ways

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of inflating a census are so many, and all of them are so easy, and the examples of St. Louis, Minneapolis, and St. Paul exhibit so strikingly the passion for exaggerating population for local prestige, that no statistician of experience would be willing to stake much upon such a count unless he had watched it in progress and had seen that its spirit and its methods were not those of an enumeration gotten up to show the largest results possible. On the other hand, it is to be said that a census of New York City at the best constitutes a most difficult problem, calling for the highest order of intelligence, energy, and foresight on the part of those who organize and supervise it; for the utmost care, deliberation, and conscientious earnestness on the part of those who are to do the work of finding and recording the inhabitants of the several wards and districts. Otherwise there will inevitably be large omissions from the count. In comparison with such a task, a census of Philadelphia is child's play. There we have a city openly built, with ninety houses to every hundred families. Tenement houses are rare. Few of the people sleep in stables, in cellars, or in lofts. The houses are set squarely on the street. Four fifths of the inhabitants are native born, and all but a trifling percentage are of English speech. Merely to state these facts is, to one who knows anything of New York, enough to show the difficulties of enumeration in that city, which in 1880 had for 243,157 families but 73,684 dwellings, of which perhaps 20,000 were tenement houses within the meaning of the sanitary acts. New York is a city with crowded and crooked courts and alleys in the lower parts, and with thousands of shanties, sheds, and inhabited sties in the upper parts, and its population is almost equally divided between natives and foreigners, no small proportion of the latter element using languages other than English —not merely the more or less familiar German and French, but Slavic and even non-Aryan tongues.

With such constituents and under such physical conditions, New York affords far the severest test to which the census is subjected. Here is the field on which a capable superintendent may exert all his powers and yet not do the work altogether to his own satisfaction, perhaps not at all to the satisfaction of the metropolitan newspapers. Under such imminence of hostile

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criticism, no care, no pains, no expenditure can be too great for the due preparation and conduct of the enumeration of the first city of America. For the same reason, however, that makes a comparative failure of the enumeration in New York City not unlikely to occur, a certain degree—not extravagant—of failure there could not be held to establish a presumption against the census in cities better adapted to enumeration, or even to raise doubts concerning it. Bad work, however—decidedly bad work in New York—must raise such doubts and may establish such a presumption. Yet, in spite of doubts or hostile presumptions, it might still be true that while the census of New York, owing to the mysterious appointment of an incapable or negligent supervisor, was wretchedly taken, in the remaining one hundred and seventy-four supervisors' districts the work was fairly well done, perhaps better done than usual.

Excepting in the case of New York City, I am not aware that more has been offered in the way of external evidence against the eleventh census than is likely to occur in connection with any popular enumeration. The newspapers have contained the usual number of complaints from cities which have highly inflated ideas of their own importance—especially cities which are under the exhilarating influence of real-estate "booms"—and the usual number of letters from householders, declaring that their families have been passed by in the enumeration. Experience has abundantly shown that such complaints from aggrieved municipalities do not even constitute a kind of evidence; while of such letter-writers, generally two thirds, often four fifths, sometimes nine tenths, are duly recorded in the census, the required information having been given, with less or more of exactness, by members of the family in the absence of its head, by servants in the absence of the family, or, in the absence of both family and servants, by neighbors, the corner apothecary, or the domestic green-grocer.

Internal evidence against the eleventh census is not yet accessible in any considerable degree. Although the work of compilation and tabulation at Washington is going forward with unprecedented energy and expedition, it must be many months before the complete results will be in the hands of either the champions or the critics of the census. When that time shall

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come, a great deal of ingenuity will doubtless be employed in drawing from the tables of age, sex, race, nativity, etc., evidence to invalidate or to corroborate the count of 1890.

Lest any of my readers should fail to understand how such evidence can be applied, I will offer a single illustration. As we shall see at a later period in this paper, the eleventh census can be held to be a true count upon one condition only, namely, that it shall appear that the general birth rate has been diminishing during the decade. With the number of people resident in the country in 1880, and with the number of foreigners arriving since that date, the population of 1890 must, had its previous rate of natural increase been maintained, have far exceeded 62,500,000. Here we see the way in which the census, if grossly imperfect, will be compelled to furnish the material for its own condemnation. Should the proportion of the total population under ten years of age be the same as it was in 1880—namely, 26½ per cent.—the census will be discredited. With all who survive from the fifty millions of 1880, with all who survive from the five and a quarter millions of foreigners that have come into the country during the decade, and with sixteen and a half millions of children under ten years of age, the total of sixty-two and a half millions for 1890 cannot be correct. Should, on the other hand, the falling off in the birth rate during the past decade prove to be such as corroborates the census, it will still be most interesting to note two things: 1, whether the retardation of the birth rate has extended geographically, westward and southward; 2, whether it has included the foreign as well as the native element. The foregoing is but one of several tests, more or less searching and conclusive, which the compiled statistics will afford the means of applying to the eleventh census. For these, however, we shall have to wait some time.

The more usual resort of those who would inquire as to the accuracy of a popular enumeration, is to the line of population as projected from the course of preceding enumerations. This has been the argument of the New York "Nation" and "Evening Post" in their unrelenting attacks upon Mr. Porter's count. These papers have not ceased to say that the census of 1890 must be wrong because it does not fairly correspond with the re-

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sults of previous censuses, allowance being made for every known force operating within the field. A census of France which should show a large increase of population would be on that account suspected, because population in that country has made but slight gains during this century. A census of the United States which does not show a very large increase of population becomes on that account suspected, because the course of population here has been upward at a very high angle. The question is of such great statistical interest and political importance as to require us to go back to the beginning and trace the line of ascent from 1790 to 1890.

It has been said that the first census of the United States showed 3,929,214 inhabitants. The second census discovered a population of 5,308,483; a gain of 35.1 per cent. In 1810 the population reached 7,239,881; a gain of 36.38 per cent. in the decade. Taking these figures, Mr. Elkanah Watson, about 1815, constructed a table of the probable future population of the United States, which for the next four censuses showed a marvelous correspondence with the ascertained results, as will appear by the following table:

	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.
Watson's Estimate,.	9,625,734	12,833,645	17,116,526	23,185,368
The Census,.....	9,633,822	12,866,020	17,069,453	23,191,876
Watson's Error,....	−8,088	−32,375	+47,073	−6,508

What was it that enabled a prediction to be made so close as almost to savor of magic? Here was a man computing the population of his country, not to within ten, or five, or three per cent., but to within one fourth part of one in a thousand; doing this thirty-five years in advance, when far more than two thirds of those who were to constitute that population were yet to be born, and when one half of the marriages from which such births were to result were yet to be contracted, not to speak of courtships to be conducted and acquaintanceships to be formed! Yet there was nothing especially deserving admiration in Watson's predictions. The author had no grasp upon the future beyond what other men possess. His estimates were not even based upon a careful survey of the soil and climate of the country. That which caused the growth of numbers through the earlier decades

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of our history to be so strikingly uniform was the principle of population operating absolutely without check among a people spread sparsely over the soil, with little of wealth and little of extreme poverty, and with nothing to make child-bearing a burden. Under conditions like these, population increases at a geometrical ratio as regularly as a gas expands in a vacuum.

About 1850 great and momentous changes began to appear in the social and industrial life of the American people. Manufactures on the large scale were introduced, creating vast factory populations. Commerce began to build up great cities. The gold discoveries in California and Australia began to work changes almost as great as those wrought by the silver mines of Mexico and Peru three centuries before. The distinction between the very rich and the very poor appeared and became constantly aggravated. Fashion inaugurated its reign; luxurious habits and tastes spread rapidly; the integrity of the American family was impaired and the vice of "boarding" grew fast by indulgence. In 1861 the civil war broke out, checking population by its first effects, and by its subsequent influence magnifying all the causes that have been indicated. Finally, vast hordes of foreigners began to arrive upon our shores, drawn from the degraded peasantries of Europe, accustomed to a far lower standard of living, with habits strange and repulsive to our people. This again caused the native population more and more to shrink within themselves, creating an increasing reluctance to bring forth sons and daughters to compete in the market for labor.

Let us now see how the validity of Watson's further estimates was affected by these changes:

	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Watson's Estimate,.	31,753,824	42,328,432	56,450,241	77,266,989
The Census,.....	31,443,321	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,622,250
Watson's Error,....	+310,503	+3,770,061	+6,294,458	+14,644,739

Watson's final estimate—that for 1900—was 100,235,985. It now appears probable that this will prove to be in excess of the enumerated population by more than twenty millions.

Let us follow this rapid sketch of the movement of population in the United States with a table showing the gain, per cent., for periods of ten, twenty, and thirty years.

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Year.	Population.	Increase Per Cent. In 10 Years.	In 20 Years.	In 30 Years.
1790,.....	3,929,214	....	....	....
1800,.....	5,308,483	35.10	...	....
1810,..... ..	7,239,881	36.38	84.26	....
1820,.....	9,633,822	33.07	81.49	145.19
1830,.....	12,866,020	33.55	77.72	142.38
1840,.....	17,069,453	32.67	77.18	135.76
1850,.....	23,191,876	35.87	80.26	140.73
1860,.....	31,443,321	35.58	84.21	144.39
1870,..	38,558,371	22.63	66.26	125.89
1880,..... ...	50,155,783	30.08	59.51	116.26
1890,..... .	62,622,250	24.85	62.41	99.16

The first glance at the foregoing table raises suggestions which are not favorable to the census of 1890. Why should the rate of increase by ten-year periods have fallen off from 35.58 per cent. between 1850 and 1860 to 22.63 between 1860 and 1870, to rise again to 30.08 between 1870 and 1880? "On account of the war," is the natural answer. Yes; but if so, why should it have again fallen to 24.85 between 1880 and 1890? To this inquiry the census office replies by alleging that the census of 1870 was defective. So much is admitted; the degree only of that deficiency is a matter of dispute. The census office estimates the deficiency of 1870, roundly, at a million and a half. If this were so, the series would be reasonably self-consistent, as follows:

Decade.	Increase Per Cent.
1860–70,.....	27
1870–80,.....	25
1880–90,.....	25

I am not disposed to admit that the deficiency was nearly so great as this. But whether we take it to have been a million or three quarters of a million, the correction for 1870 will largely remove the statistical irregularities noted in the ten-year series.

But there is a better way of dealing with the question. The advantage of taking twenty-year or thirty-year periods is that this enables us to jump completely over a suspected or contested census. Whatever we may think of the census of 1870, it is not disputed that the population of the country increased only 116.26 per cent. between 1850 and 1880. It is with this ratio that we should compare that of the thirty-year period between 1860 and 1890, when the gain was 99.16 per cent. It is true that the fall-

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ing off here was much greater than between the two thirty-year periods 1830–60 and 1840–70. But since it is admitted that a large addition, somewhere between three quarters of a million and a million and a half, requires to be made to the population of 1870, we find this irregularity to be measurably accounted for, and the series, thus corrected, to be, for the last four censuses, tolerably self-consistent. Thus, if we suppose the population of 1870 to have been 39,300,000, we should have the last four thirty-year periods as follows:

Period.	Increase Per Cent.
1830–60,.....	144.39
1840–70,.....	130.23
1850–80,.....	116.26
1860–90,.....	99.16

There is, however, one important fact, not appearing in the foregoing table, which dashes our satisfaction at this result, and throws the whole matter again into doubt and dispute. That fact is the enormously increased immigration of the period from 1880 to 1890. Foreign arrivals during that decade were about five and a quarter millions, or twice as much as during the immediately preceding or any preceding decade. This is the element not, as yet, accounted for in the eleventh census. This constitutes the real *gravamen* of the hostile charges against that census. Had the foreign arrivals of 1880–90 been only as great as those of 1870–80, the result for 1890—namely, 62,500,000—would have been perfectly reasonable on its face, and, in the absence of internal or external evidence, incontestable. But since those foreign arrivals were two and a half millions more, why was not the population of 1890 greater by that amount?

Here appears the significance of the condition mentioned in the earlier part of this paper. If the birth rate among the previously existing population did not suffer a sharp decline coincidently with that enormous increase of immigration, and perhaps in consequence of it, the census of 1890 cannot be vindicated. To ascertain the facts we must await the tabulation of the population by periods of life, and ascertain how many of the inhabitants of the United States in 1890 were under ten years of age.

FRANCIS A. WALKER.

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OUR CHANCE FOR COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY.

RICHARD COBDEN, the merchant statesman of England, warned his countrymen more than fifty years ago that a nation was growing up on the North American continent which, through the unequaled natural resources of its land and the intense energy of its people, would supplant England in the primacy of the world's commerce. Is this prophecy to be fulfilled, and when?

Hitherto this nation has been very busy subduing a virgin continent—perhaps the most desirable part of the world for human habitation. Our people have built nearly 170,000 miles of railways, over which 30,000 locomotives move 1,000,000 cars carrying nearly 600,000,000 tons of merchandise quickly and economically, while 500,000,000 passengers travel with a comfort and cheapness unknown in other countries. They have developed the full usefulness of the natural waterways by a lavish expenditure, and have made artificial channels which are the arteries of a great traffic. They have pushed the commerce of the great lakes with such energy that more than 10,000,000 tons of merchandise arrive at and depart from the port of Chicago during the season of navigation, while the tonnage passing through the Detroit River is nearly thrice that passing through the Suez Canal. They have spent money extravagantly to improve the harbors of both coasts, and through these gateways go in and out the novel steam and sailing craft of a great coasting fleet, moving vast quantities of merchandise from port to port. They have perfected a superb system of lighthouses, have minutely charted our extended coast line, adding greatly to the safety of navigation, and have established a life-saving service that is a model for other nations. They have made equal progress in providing for the transmission of intelligence; for the telegraph conveys, over 800,000 miles of wire, the written word to every hamlet, and the telephone exchanges speech over ever-widening

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areas. Most of the good soil is now in the service of man; the forests are almost vanquished, and, alas! have almost vanished. The riches under the surface have been sought as eagerly as the riches on it, and our mines, both in useful and in precious products, stir the wonder of the world. Our manufactures, aided by the enterprise and ingenuity of the people, have been multiplied and differentiated until, in many fields of production, six months' work of existing factories is enough to supply our own people for a whole year.

All this serves to show that the commercial unity of the nation is nearly complete. The task of perfecting it has called for the highest energies of a free community, living in a stimulating climate and reinforced in bodily and mental strength by the constant inflow of the more enterprising of the plain people of Europe, who have come here in millions and have merged themselves in these enormous activities.

While we have been building a nation and a home for it, foreign commerce has been naturally secondary, although by no means neglected. During the year 1890, the country exported merchandise valued at nearly $900,000,000. Much of this consisted of raw materials and food supplied to manufacturing nations, but more than $150,000,000 in value was manufactured goods. Of the food exported, more than $200,000,000 worth, such as flour and bacon, had been subjected to manufacturing processes, and the $22,000,000 worth of lumber, staves, etc., which represent the plunder of our forests, had all been partly elaborated. Large as these figures are, they seem small by the side of those that tell the story of Britain's exports of more than $1,500,000,000 in value, of which more than $1,000,000,000 worth consist of manufactured goods, the products of British factories.

There are signs that our country is awakening to a sense of its position among the manufacturing nations as first in activity, wealth, and population. It is beginning to recognize that the 1,300,000,000 people outside its own boundaries represent a vast potential commerce, and that 1,000,000,000 of them live in non-manufacturing countries. The nations of Europe have been struggling for this trade, fully aware of the enormous value of

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the commerce which has built up the wealth of England, but they have been handicapped and unable to make a winning fight against that powerful and astute adversary. There are many evidences that we are about to enter this field of peaceful combat. One such sign is our strong interest in the creation of a new navy which shall constitute a visible symbol of power abroad. As has happened before in the history of our country, after a long period of indifference and inaction, we leap to the front in the fighting effectiveness of our ships. Fortunately we possess a superb corps of naval officers, and it is certain that the new and complex fighting machines will be handled with bravery and skill in time of need. To construct a new navy from American materials required a great development of our steel factories. Its founder, Secretary Whitney, skillfully applied the liberal appropriations, private enterprise responded, and steel of the highest grade is now available in ample quantities for the construction of hulls and for the manufacture of armor plates. The great gun factories at Washington are to-day turning out the most powerful cannon known, and private firms are entering the same field. Foreign commerce is almost the only source of international complications for a country free from dynastic and colonial questions, and the new attitude brings its own peril, which in part is provided against by the new navy.

The course of the United States in the Samoan matter, in throwing down the gauntlet to powerful Germany, created a profound impression in Europe, where it was rightly regarded as the indication of a changed attitude. The interest aroused by the apparently futile Pan-American Congress, the prompt and general approval of Secretary Blaine's reciprocity movement which grew out of it, the dispatch of our army and navy officers to the wilds of the Andes to begin the surveys for the Intercontinental Railroad, and the report by a Senate committee looking toward the control of the Nicaragua Canal by the government, all proclaim that the United States is awakening and is about to begin an aggressive movement in the campaign of commerce.

What are the elements of strength that make victory probable? The vividly energetic character of the people, educated

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in activity by a commerce unobstructed over a continental area, gives promise of a momentum hard to resist. The American celerity of thought and tendency to prompt action, the spontaneous ingenuity in adapting means to ends, in seizing every new discovery and elaborating it for the uses of man with bewildering swiftness, all make for continuous and rapid progress. The recent expansion of the uses of electricity is a striking example of this. Potentially every American is an inventor, always searching for a better way.

One great factor in the commercial preponderance of England was her supremacy in iron-production, coincident with the carriage of the products of all countries over iron rails on land and in iron ships by sea. When the age of steel arrived, England still held the first place for a time, but with the partial exhaustion of her ores and coal, and with the opening up of our unlimited supplies, she has dropped to the second place, while the United States has seized a supremacy never to be relinquished. With increased production comes lowering of cost. Already prices here are nearly the same as in Britain, and soon iron and steel will be sold cheaper in the United States than in any other country in the world. The cheapness of these metals has meant commercial supremacy for Britain; it should mean the same for the United States.

Thirty years ago this country had to pause in its progress to extirpate an evil and to vindicate a principle. One consequence of this was the loss of a large part of our merchant marine, and since then we have carried on but little of our foreign commerce under our own flag, although our domestic fleet is large enough to make us the second maritime nation in the world. But when iron and steel shall be cheaper here than elsewhere, the great ship-building industries will, in accordance with economic laws, transfer themselves from the Clyde to the Hudson, the Delaware, and the Chesapeake. Already our ship-building firms have offered to duplicate ocean greyhounds at British prices, and during 1890 English ship-building slightly declined, while the United States built 25 per cent. more tonnage than in 1889. While building our merchant fleet, we need not relax our efforts to secure the world's trade. We can use foreign vessels to carry

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our shipments. Doubtless we shall find, as the British have found, that the profits of a merchant marine must be largely collateral—made upon the goods carried rather than upon the carrying. We are helped, in pushing our manufactures, by the foreign belief in the superior quality of our goods; the word "American" has become a valuable trade mark, and the foreign buyer has confidence in the products of our factories. Americans as a rule make things on a great scale, and arrive at cheapness by producing enormous quantities. The tendency to uniformity in dress and in methods of living, which is a characteristic of the age, thus makes in our favor.

Ships carry our merchandise, but they are far too slow as vehicles of information. The value of time and the uncertainties of the mails have forced the construction of a vast system of submarine telegraphs connecting every point of commercial importance with every other such point. Ten cables lie in the bed of the Atlantic between Europe and America. The West Indies are linked together; loops lead from port to port almost around South America and the great African continent. Cables stretch across the Mediterranean and lie at the bottom of the Red Sea. They tie Arabia, India, China, and Japan together; they unite the great East Indian islands, and stretching southward, bind Australia and New Zealand to the rest of the world with double lines. Over these cables come and go the messages by which the business of buying and selling is done. Most of them are the work of British capital, but they are all at our service. The electric messenger has eliminated time, while the railway and the steamship are steadily lessening the distance between nations and so are drawing us to other lands and them to us. The closeness of competition and the nearness of each to all are destroying the profits of secrecy and forcing unnecessary middlemen out of the way. The tyranny of commercial "use and wont" is giving way in many directions, and the time seems ripe for a new-comer with new methods, who shall see that the larger profit is in making smooth the path between producer and consumer rather than in keeping them as far apart as possible. That new-comer is the United States.

In the commercial war upon which we are entering, these

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many advantages are partly offset by disadvantages which should not be overlooked. For many years we have not only failed to fight for foreign trade, but we have defended ourselves behind tariff fortifications against the attacks of other nations. We have a banking system in which the original desire to market government bonds during the civil war, and later the effort to make a secure circulating medium, have surrounded our banks with hampering laws and customs which make them poor channels for financing a foreign trade. This is a serious difficulty, but it is not to be supposed that the large profits and the safety of such banking will be long ignored. At present we have the gold standard, which is the most efficient tool of foreign exchanges, but we seem to be threatened with unlimited silver coinage, and with the resulting silver standard, which might greatly retard the development of foreign trade.

Our principal enemy is Great Britain, and she is a dangerous adversary. Her commerce is superbly organized, and she has the habit of victory. For a long time she has fought without tariff fortifications; her ports have been open to the ships of all nations, whether for foreign or for coastwise traffic; she gives her competitors the same advantages in trading with her colonies that she herself possesses. This is a fine attitude and shows her solid confidence in herself; yet she dreads the conflict; and while she shows a courageous front and will fight at every point, many of her intelligent observers anticipate ultimate defeat.

Germany is a foe of far different resources. A poor country, burdened with an enormous army, and thus obliged to lose the labor of vast numbers of her citizens in order to provide for defense, she has little leisure to originate and has spent too much of her energies in imitating the goods originated by others. An imitation is salable only when it is cheaper than the original, and under the disadvantage of badly paid and less intelligent labor, she has produced so many inferior goods that the word "German" stands for poor quality in the minds of many buyers. The idea is spreading over the world that poor goods are dear goods, as is shown by the enforcement of international regulations to prevent the imitation of trade marks, and by laws exacting that the nationality of merchandise be indicated on the

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merchandise. It must not be understood, however, that Germany produces no manufactures of high quality; there are some fields in which she stands unrivaled, and with all her disadvantages she exported more than $750,000,000 worth in 1889.

France also fights at a disadvantage. The taxation necessitated by an army of revenge and by the greatest debt in the world weighs heavily, and this weight is aggravated by the forced withdrawal of many of her people from production. She is further hampered by government paternalism, which meddles with trade and destroys commercial initiative. Her exports, valued at more than $700,000,000, are a monument to the indomitable industry of her people, but she is driven more and more into those kinds of manufactures in which she can show her unrivaled taste. France shows a great dread of American aggressive competition, and seems to have little hope of combating it successfully. These three great manufacturing nations will serve as types of the enemies and the resources against which we are to contend. Switzerland and Belgium resemble England in their methods; Austria is like Germany; Italy and Spain are more like France.

In beginning the campaign for the world's trade, we first throw up outworks around neutral markets in the shape of reciprocity treaties. We naturally begin with the nearest country.

Canada has been offered unrestricted reciprocity; she is already willing to come half way. The opposition of the Dominion alone prevents the promulgation of a treaty with Newfoundland. The British West Indies are connected with the United States in the most intimate way, and British Guiana has expressed her preference for reciprocity with the United States rather than for closer relations with Canada.

Cuba and Porto Rico demand from Spain reciprocity treaties with the United States, and the mother country sees herself obliged to consent. Mexico long since agreed to a treaty which has not been ratified by us, and she is now negotiating another, but meantime she is being commercially annexed by our railroad-builders and merchants. The Nicaragua Canal will give us a preponderance in Central America and the advantage of easier access to the western coast of South America and to all the

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Pacific regions. We admit most Venezuelan products duty free, and the successful conclusion of a reciprocity treaty will still further increase a trade that is already growing rapidly. On April 1 the reciprocity treaty with Brazil went into operation. It cannot fail greatly to stimulate a trade already growing and important, and the bitter opposition of the merchants of competing nations is a proof of its value. When we are ready to remove the duty on wool similar treaties can perhaps be negotiated with the countries of the La Plata valley, where American manufactures are already well known and liked.

The new Commonwealth of Australia, the greatest consuming nation in the world in proportion to population, has always preferred quality to cheapness and is one of our best customers. Whenever our people are ready to admit her wool duty free we can rest assured that she will grant a generous trade equivalent. British South Africa has long bought many goods from the United States, but asks free entry for her wool before she will grant us favors. Her ports are the gateways to the great African gold fields and diamond mines. Her railways are pushing for the heart of Africa, and already reach long distances from the coast.

After operating for a time in the shelter of the reciprocity breastworks, our people may discover that these breastworks hamper rather than help them in a further advance. They will learn how much the enemy fears them, and, gathering courage, will move out into the open field of the neutral markets. The struggle there will be a severe one, but it is difficult to see how, with our resources, we can fail of ultimate success. Meantime many of the manufacturing nations, beaten out of the field, will have retired behind tariff fortifications which they will construct around themselves and their colonies. The final advance must necessarily be against these defensive walls. The attack is likely to be a prolonged siege, in which keeping them inside will be in itself a victory. In such a campaign leaders will arise. These generals of commerce may come from among the men who built a Chicago, a Denver, an Atlanta, rather than from cosmopolitan New York, keen Boston, or peaceful Philadelphia. The campaign is likely to be most successfully carried on by men of the

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loose-jointed power and broad optimism of the Mississippi valley rather than by the highly organized but more cautious leading of the seaboard. The merchants and manufacturers of the coast are perhaps too conventional in their methods; they have been forced to fight defensively too long to lead where broader and bolder action might best succeed. The commercial generals must be Lincolns and Grants; patient, constant, enterprising, and imbued with an absolute confidence in themselves and in their highly-organized, highly-paid armies of workmen. Such confidence seems warranted. The men of our industrial armies possess an educated intelligence; they know how to harness the forces of Nature and to compel her greatest energies. They are weaponed with machines and tools so ingenious, so perfectly adapted to their uses, as enormously to increase the effectiveness of labor; they can move quickly, for they carry no burden of clumsiness or surplusage, they bow to no useless traditions and reject nothing because it is new. How can such armies, when backed by the resources of such a country, fail of victory?

The fruits of victory are worth considering. We shall have a trade that will fill the country with factories, and owing to the wide distribution and climatic differences of the world's markets, there need be no periods of idleness for workmen. The Russian oil fields threaten to destroy our exports of petroleum to the Eastern hemisphere; our shipments of lumber must soon cease from exhaustion of our forests; experts tell us that our food exports steadily decline, and that by the end of the century we shall need nearly all our wheat for home consumption. As a result of the campaign, this void will be filled by shipments of a wonderful variety of merchandise in which the smallest part of the value is that of the raw material, the greatest, that of skilled and intelligent labor. Great Britain sold in 1889 more than $300,000,000 worth of goods produced by other countries, while we sold but $13,000,000 worth. With the transfer of commercial supremacy, much of this valuable and profitable trade would come to us. The steadily-increasing importance of New York as an international financial center will be stimulated, and the first general European war will see the transfer of the world's surplus capital from London to New York. Thus we shall, if

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we remain financially spotless and trustworthy, become the world's savings bank and safe deposit.

Beyond the material benefits arising from commercially organizing the world around a new center, are other gains. The public business of the nation is generally carried on by second-rate men, for those of the first ability find a more attractive field of action in private affairs. Perhaps, with the larger leisure to come, first-rate men may be drawn into the making of the laws and the guiding of the state. So far there has been little original artistic progress, except in the work of our machinists and engineers, who strip away unnecessary material, the result being artistic perfection of form. When commercial ambitions are satisfied a new desire may arise for primacy in art. Close commercial intercourse with the artistic civilizations of Asia and Europe will have acquainted us with the achievements of these countries and will have created ideals which our people will set themselves to realize. Some profound changes in national character may be looked for. The qualities that have well served to overrun the world may become secondary to others necessary to the preservation of our great place among the nations. Breadth of mind, the outcome of world-wide interests and sympathies, may replace intensity. The calmness that comes with success and possession may overshadow the eagerness of pursuit; swift aggressiveness may be succeeded by weight and steadiness; and the complexity of affairs will stimulate mental subtlety.

The people who shall have won such victories will have become intellectual athletes, for the contest will exact the full development of every power. The fittest qualities for permanent dominance, gained from the mingling of the blood of all the nations of Europe, will have survived. Then from this nation, strengthened in character, trained in intellect, and elevated by these great events, may be expected works of genius in all the arts, and a literature of fact and imagination such as the world has not yet seen.

ULYSSES D. EDDY.

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SILVER, AND THE NEED OF MORE MONEY.

MORE money is a necessity. If any one doubts this, let him read an article on the money market in any leading journal in Europe or America, or apply for a loan at any bank on either side of the Atlantic. The constant and increasing stringency in the money market is the text of financial literature, the banker's reason for refusing accommodation on good security, and the miser's excuse for sacrificing his debtor's property at forced sale. The limit of the supply of gold for use as money has been reached. The question under consideration on both sides of the Atlantic is: What other material besides gold shall be stamped as money of redemption?

From time immemorial, previous to 1873, silver was used as money equally with gold. Silver was excluded from the mint by legislation. Shall it be restored to its place as money by legislation? If not, the alternative is presented of the gold standard and perpetual contraction, or fiat paper money. The gold monometallists assert that the subject cannot be controlled by legislation. Their spokesman, Mr. Edward Atkinson, in the May number of the FORUM, boldly asserts that "the value of gold and of silver in the markets of the world is a matter that it is wholly without the power of the government to control or to regulate."

Mr. Atkinson's assertion will hardly convince the people that universal peace and abundant harvests produce scarcity of money, depression, and want; but it ought to satisfy them that it is idle to expect relief from the gold monometallists. If it be true, as contended by Mr. Atkinson, that the repeal of all laws providing for the coinage of the precious metals and the enactment of statutes depriving coin of its legal-tender function would not affect the value of either gold or silver, what becomes of the economic axiom that value depends upon the law of supply and demand? The demand for gold and silver for use as money is

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more than nine tenths of the entire demand for those metals. Why would not the cutting off, by legislation, of nine tenths of the demand for the precious metals depreciate their value? Has either gold or silver intrinsic value independent of supply and demand? If all the rocks were gold, would an ounce of that metal buy the same amount of food or clothing that it now does?

Those who attribute intrinsic value to gold mistake quality for value. Quality is inherent and intrinsic; value exists in the mind of man and is extrinsic, and, in a great degree, independent of quality. The heat of the sun, the light of day, and the air we breathe possess qualities essential to animal life, but in their natural condition they have no commercial value. A traveler at a mountain stream satisfies his thirst without cost, but in a desert he would willingly exchange his last dollar for a pint of the precious fluid. The only elements of value are desire to possess and the limitation of quantity; in other words, supply and demand. The value of gold and silver, when used as money, is their purchasing power, or their power in exchange. If the quantity were increased, the demand remaining the same, the value of each dollar, pound, franc, or other unit of money would be correspondingly decreased. Why did silver decline in value as compared with gold, when its coinage was prohibited by law? When the gold mines of California and Australia were most productive, Germany, Austria, and Holland demonetized gold. Chevalier, Maclaren, and others advocated an international agreement to reject gold and to adopt the silver standard. If they had succeeded would not the value of silver have advanced as compared with gold?

The principal use, aside from habit, custom, or prejudice, for either gold or silver as money is to limit the quantity of the circulating medium. Without limitation in quantity, as we have already seen, money would have no value. So long as no other limitation can be agreed upon, a metallic basis for money of ultimate redemption is a necessity. The question is, Shall such basis be gold alone, or both gold and silver? If there were enough gold, there would be no necessity for using silver; but there never was enough of either gold or silver. There never was too much of both combined.

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The most serious objection to metallic money is the want of a sufficient supply. In the past, nations have prospered when the mines of gold and silver were productive, and languished and decayed when the mines failed. Modern civilization commenced with the supply of gold and silver from the New World. Its progress has been measured by the yield of the mines. It has been rapid when they have been productive; it has been retarded by every decline in the output of gold and silver. The wonderful revival of commerce and prosperity enjoyed while the gold placers of California and Australia were productive, illustrates the beneficial effects of an abundant supply of money. When the output of gold declined, the discovery of the great Comstock lode revived silver-mining; since which time the combined product of gold and silver has not been more than sufficient to keep pace with the increase of population and business.

If silver had not been demonetized, the use of both metals would have furnished a reasonable supply of money and disarmed the advocates of paper fiat money. The demonetization of silver cut off half the supply, violated existing contracts, reduced values, and paralyzed industry. Prosperity cannot be restored without an increased supply of money. Silver must be used as money equally with gold, or the metallic basis must be abandoned. If silver is rejected, some form of fiat money must be invented, or history will repeat itself by a return to barbarism. Civilization cannot exist without money. The demonetization of silver was the crime of the nineteenth century. The use of both gold and silver as money was a part of every contract. The people of the civilized world had agreed to pay, in either gold or silver, not less than a hundred thousand million dollars, when silver was demonetized by strategy or fraud. By such demonetization every contract was made payable in gold alone. The debtor was denied the option of paying in either gold or silver, as stipulated in the contract. The United States immediately thereafter resumed specie payment, and compelled the people to sell their products at a discount of from 30 to 50 per cent. to buy gold with which to pay obligations contracted to be paid in either gold, silver, or paper. Other nations followed our example. The injustice and wrong of this act did

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not stop with the robbery of the debtor. Its baneful effects will not cease until silver is remonetized, or until the use of both gold and silver is abandoned.

The amount of gold coin in the commercial world has not materially increased since 1873, when silver was demonetized. Many statisticians contend that the entire output of gold since that time has been employed for non-monetary purposes. However that may be, population, business, and credit have increased out of all proportion to the supply of gold. The general range of prices of commodities has declined about 40 per cent., business is languishing, and prudent men are in constant dread of an impending crisis. Every movement of gold is viewed with alarm. The scanty reserves of gold coin in the money centers of Europe and America are a constant menace to financial credit and business. The monometallists cannot deny that the money of redemption is inadequate to sustain the existing fabric of credit. They suggest no remedy to supply the deficiency, except more contraction and less enterprise; more poverty and less prosperity. The people will apply a remedy. They have not abandoned hope. They have no fetish worship for gold, but they are conservative. They will adhere to the metallic basis so long as the mines furnish a sufficient supply of the precious metals and so long as both metals are used.

Previous to the conspiracy by which the gold trust of the United States and Europe was formed, each nation furnished its people with the kind and quantity of money which was deemed best suited to their wants. Some used gold, others silver, and others both gold and silver. England used gold alone as money; Germany, Austria, Holland, and India and other Asiatic countries adhered to silver; while the Latin Union and the United States used both gold and silver. So long as this freedom of action in furnishing the people with money was enjoyed by the nations of the earth, a parity existed between gold and silver at the ratio of about 15½ of silver to one of gold. No one in any part of the world would sell either gold or silver for a less price than could be obtained in the countries using both metals. So long as a given quantity of silver could be exchanged for the same amount of money as another given quantity of gold, such given

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quantities were always equal in value. Money was the standard, and it made no difference of which metal it was composed. The parity of value between the two metals was not affected by the demonetization of silver in England in 1816, nor by the demonetization of gold in Germany and Austria in 1857. It required a combination of all the leading commercial nations to break the metallic tie and to advance the value of gold. The United States took the lead in the gold combination without the consent of the people. That combination or trust has inflicted pecuniary loss upon the country beyond computation, and has substituted poverty and want for abundance and prosperity.

When the Barings, by speculation in South America, incurred gold obligations heavier than they could bear, and thereby failed, the financial credit of the commercial world was shaken to its foundation. The people of the United States were not parties to the South American speculation which caused the failure, but they were partners with their English cousins in maintaining the gold trust, and suffered for the extravagance of their gold associates. What advantage has been gained by this gold combination? Why should it be continued? And above all, why should another combination be formed for the pretended purpose of unifying the currency of the commercial world? Why should the United States use the same kind of money as other countries? What possible good can result from such an arrangement? The pretense that gold coin is required to settle foreign balances is absurd. Such balances are adjusted by a well-established system of exchange. Bankers who deal in exchange furnish all necessary facilities for conducting foreign commerce.

The value of money in any country is determined by its purchasing power in that country. Its power in exchange at home is all the value it possesses. When transported, whether it be gold, silver, or paper, it becomes a commodity. The banker, knowing the purchasing power of the money of every country, readily reduces the money of one country to that of another, and furnishes business men with the money they require in any foreign country. A currency that would circulate throughout the world must be made a legal tender by every nation. No inde-

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pendent legislation, by different nations, on the money question could be tolerated. Such an arrangement would be impossible and undesirable. A stringency in one country would affect every other. Those who advocate it seem to suppose that the exchange of the money of one country for that of another is commerce. They do not seem to realize that commerce consists in the interchange of commodities, and that money is used as a measure or counter for that purpose. Money should never be exported. The country which exports its money will bankrupt its people. Internal commerce and business depend upon the volume of money at home. The loss of the circulating medium by export is ruinous. An international agreement providing for a common currency for export would be disastrous.

The country whose money is of such material as cannot be converted into money of any other country is protected from the loss of its circulating medium by export. Why should not each country enjoy such protection? Why should any country buy foreign commodities worth more than those of its own production that it can give in exchange? It is better to let foreign creditors wait or refuse credit than to produce contraction at home by exporting money. Exchange accommodates foreign commerce, but domestic commerce is dependent upon the supply of money at home.

The people of the United States must have more money. More gold cannot be obtained. Why not use silver as well as gold? Silver and gold are limited in production. Silver will not furnish too much money. Fiat paper, the alternative of silver, might do so. The estimated annual product of the silver of the world is about 130,000,000 ounces. Some deduction ought to be made from this estimate on account of the exaggeration of speculators in mines. But whatever the yield may be, it was all absorbed prior to 1890, when the price of silver advanced by reason of discussion and legislation in Congress. The sudden rise in price checked exports from Asia. Three bushels of wheat were exchanged in India for the same amount of silver that two bushels would procure previous to the advance. All other exports were similarly affected. The Asiatics ceased purchasing silver. The increased purchases in the United States

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under the act of July 14, 1890, did not equal the amount formerly exported to Asia. For the first time in history there was, in the United States, a small accumulation of silver bullion for which there were no buyers. This surplus bullion has depressed the price of silver from $1.21 to about 98 cents per ounce. The power of Great Britain over the Asiatic market was exerted to prevent the purchase of silver. In India paper was substituted for coin by English monometallists. It was necessary to depreciate and degrade silver that free-coinage legislation in the United States might be obstructed. If Congress had adopted free coinage instead of requiring the purchase of four and one half million ounces per month, more silver would have been absorbed by Asia, because the motive for depreciating silver to affect our legislation would not have existed. Certainly free coinage could not have more effectually cut off the Asiatic market for silver than did the act of 1890.

The addition to our circulating medium up to the present time which free coinage would have caused could not have exceeded fifteen million dollars. Such an addition would have been a great boon in the present stringency of the money market. The prediction that European coin would be sent here if our mints were opened to free coinage of silver is idle. Europe needs all her silver coin. It is all held in reserve for redemption of her paper or is in circulation among the people. It is the people's money, which cannot be withdrawn without great inconvenience. It is circulating on a par with gold at a ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to one. This is a valuation higher by more than three per cent. than that placed on the silver in the standard dollar. There is no silver coin in the world which is not valued higher than our own, except the Mexican dollar, which contains a little more silver than there is in the standard dollar of the United States. The only cheap silver in the world is the small accumulation of silver bullion now on the market. That accumulation not only depresses the price of silver, but weighs down the price of all commodities.

Since silver was demonetized the price of wheat and the prices of all other farm products which we export have been governed by the price of silver. The reason for this is that India and all

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our competitors for the supply of the European markets adhere to the silver standard. The purchasing power of silver in those countries remains stationary. There is no discount at home on the silver that they receive in return for their wheat and cotton; while the farmers and planters of the United States, who sell in the same market and for the same price, are compelled to suffer a loss of more than 30 per cent. The advantage that England secures by the use of cheap silver to exchange for wheat and cotton in India was urged, before the English royal commission, against the remonetization of silver. The argument was that this advantage releases England from paying tribute to the United States for farm products, while it develops the resources of India. It is a curious fact that the average price of wheat for the last twenty-five years has been equal to the value of 371¼ grains of pure silver, the amount contained in the standard dollar. This was the case when silver fell to 89 cents an ounce, and also when it rose last year to $1.21.

Free coinage would make the silver bullion in the standard dollar worth $1.29 an ounce, and would enhance the value of farm products in an equal proportion. It would also enlarge the metallic basis and place the fabric of credit, which is now tottering, on a solid foundation. It would stop contraction, furnish more money, revive business, and secure prosperity. The only persons in the world interested in preventing free coinage are the owners of gold and of gold obligations, a class of persons who are willing to sacrifice the happiness of mankind to increase their own accumulations. They are governed by the instinct of the miser, and have the self-righteousness of the Pharisee of old in the temple at Jerusalem. Their power of deception seems inexhaustible, and it has been used with marvelous effect. By their arts thousands of millions of wealth, produced by honest toil, have been transferred from the masses to the designing few. They have interested the people in side issues and excited them over sentimental questions; and, like the cuttle-fish, have darkened the waters in order to conceal their schemes of robbery.

At last the people are investigating the subject. Contraction and hard times have aroused them. They demand more money. They demand that the gold trust or partnership, which was

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formed without their consent, shall be dissolved, and that silver shall be restored to its place as money. They repudiate the act of 1873, which deprived them of the use of silver, doubled the burden of their debts, reduced the price of their property, and subjected them to privation and want. They have resolved not to be driven from their homes and made dependent upon the tender mercies of money kings. At all events, they will test the question whether this country shall be governed by a moneyed aristocracy or by a free and industrious people, devoted to liberty and independence. They will know whether laws can be made for the benefit of the producers of wealth as well as for the parasites of civilization. Let the possessors of accumulated capital take warning. Justice and moderation are necessary for the welfare of all, but the radical contractionists will produce radical inflationists. The latter will prevail if the former insist upon that issue. The common ground of safety and fair dealing is to return to the money of the Constitution—gold and silver coin—as the basis of a sound currency.

WM. M. STEWART.

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OUR INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT LAW.

It was impossible to write the first word of the above title without a certain sense of satisfaction. At last an international copyright law is ours; and though it is not one to be proud of, it is certainly gratifying to have outlived the shame of having none at all. It is matter for congratulation, too, that after all the "cranks" have had their say (as they must have regarding all reforms), from the denial of all copyright down to the royalty-stamp scheme, the measure passed is at least sane, if not generous, and meets the most urgent needs, if not all.

Nevertheless, when the editor of the Forum asked for an article embodying my impressions of the law, the first impulse was against writing them. The bill, like all legislation, was the result of a series of compromises. It was supported by the joint committee of the authors' and publishers' leagues as the best bill attainable, and although the members of the committee retained their personal rights of criticism, it will be time enough for that when the working of the law demonstrates its faults. Its merits still have arrayed against them so much that is base and unscrupulous, that remedial criticism now, would be in danger of being used destructively.

On the other hand, it at first seemed superfluous to write about the advantages of such a measure, for this has already been done at length in many places, including an article in this review which the present writer was invited to contribute in March, 1888. There appeared, however, to be good reasons for going over the ground again while public attention is directed to it. There is much ignorance regarding the probable effects of the law, even among those most interested (the evening before this is written, one of our leading authors professed really to know nothing of the subject); and it is important that all readers should realize that the law, although defective and narrow, merits the support of all honest men.

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Its moral effects will probably be its most important ones, but they are outside of the present writer's province. In writing about it at all, one sets up for more or less of a prophet, and will probably find all he had better attempt, if he plays that rôle only in relation to his own trade. Yet the author's interests are so inextricably blended with the publisher's, that it is not worth while to try to discuss them separately.

First, as to some obvious effects of the new law which are essential to the understanding of others not so apparent. The most obvious effect will be, of course, that foreign authors will be paid for such of their books as are copyrighted here. All payments will have to be added to the price of books, and this will relieve the American author from the competition of prices on foreign books that are low because they are not honest.

A less obvious effect is that, when the habit of paying is revived, foreign authors will be paid for many books that are not copyrighted, just as they were frequently paid for non-copyrighted books in the period from about 1860 to about 1876. Then the American publishing business was mainly in the hands of men who not only paid foreign authors, but who respected each other's compacts with such authors, and so made it possible, there being no rival editions to compete with, to pay liberally. Moreover, there was then in the trade honor enough, even among the thieves, to keep publishers from stealing from each other, and so any repentant thief who wanted to, could afford to pay honest royalty. The new law will inevitably drive out the worst element in the trade and put it on the old basis again, even in relation to books which may not be copyrighted.

There will be many of these, especially of the less popular class of books that presumably will not pay for the type-setting here which the law demands as a condition of copyright. Possibly even Bryce's "American Commonwealth" might not have been copyrighted under such a law. Then, as in that case, unexpected popularity in a non-copyrighted book will, of course, offer a temptation to the pirate. But with the possible prizes so few, relatively, the piratical industry will die out, and things will return to the condition of the period already referred to, when copyright was not in all cases essential to safety.

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An indirect result of this will be much relief to the American author from mock-auction methods in publishing. Foreign authors will be able to determine who shall represent them here, and naturally will select reliable representatives. That as well as the other causes indicated, will drive out of publishing a class of people who have preyed upon the business weaknesses of American authors as well as upon the defenselessness of foreign ones.

Yet the most effective cause of forcing down the American author's royalties has not been the mere non-payment of those of the foreign author, but the wild competition of the cheap editions issued by reckless and inexperienced publishers. The chance to take books without paying for them, and especially to get out competing editions of books already proved successful by some established house, has led into the business a large number of the class of adventurers naturally attracted by such opportunities. The glut of all mechanical products caused by the protective tariff has made it easy for these people to get credit from paper-makers, printers, and binders (in fact, several publishers have been "set up" by over-protected establishments), and they have conducted their business with the recklessness to be expected—piling into the market edition after edition of each successful foreign book, each cheaper than its predecessor, until the publishers have destroyed themselves and each other. Probably there is not more than one of them who has not failed, and most of them have failed several times.

Not only has the market been overcrowded with superfluous and unreasonably cheap editions of good books, but with bad books. The publishers of the innumerable "series" have had to "rob the cradle and the grave," and many other places less eligible than either, for authors to keep their series going. To go at all, they must go regularly like a magazine, whether books worth publishing appear regularly or not; something must appear at the stated time, both to secure cheap postage and to keep up the habits of the clients—clients generally for the most ephemeral stuff, developed at the expense of all reading not ephemeral.

Because of this, the bookstores, except in favored spots, have suffered in number and quality. The book-buying habit

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has fallen off; the pamphlet-buying habit has taken its place. The pamphlet soon finds its way to the waste basket, which, in many cases, it should never have risen above, and the permanent possessions of the household are less than they ought to be by one book. The average American citizen's source of intellectual pabulum is now the "news stand." It and the toy shop with piles of pamphlet "libraries" at one end have too generally succeeded the bookstore. The old habit of dropping into the bookstore and buying the latest good thing—latest in form or matter—is now indulged in by few people, and in relatively few places.

The reading public having been gorged to a degree fatal to them with the deleterious products described, what chance has there been to crowd in a reasonable share of the productions of American authors? Before the flood of cheap pamphlets destroyed the book-buying habit, publishers of standing were generally able to sell enough of any book on which they would put their imprint, to protect them from serious loss. Now they find it impossible to market more than about a third as many copies of a new copyright book as they could before, or to obtain more than about three quarters as much per copy for any given mechanical grade. Besides, in most instances the grade has been forced lower than the width of the book's special market would justify, while the narrow and uncertain market has discouraged—almost fatally discouraged—the undertaking of books by unknown aspirants, or of books by authors who appeal only to a select class. The new law is going to restore all these advantages. It will restrict books to editions for which there is a sound economic demand, thus relieving all authorship from illegitimate competition, and opening up the avenues to publicity now closed; and it will foster a return to standard literature in place of the ephemeral stuff of which the "libraries" have been principally made. This will encourage publishers to issue such literature in editions justified by a wider market, and will probably make the great classics of all literatures more accessible in better forms and cheaper than now. Such is the case in all countries where international copyright has relieved standard literature from the competition of such trash as can be stolen from other nations—frequently

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matter of so little attractiveness that it would never have been published if royalty had to be paid on it.*

But aside from the question of cheapness, the new law is going to make hosts of people pay a dollar or two for a book which will be good for generations, as cheerfully as they now pay the same price for an evening at the theatre, which leaves no tangible possession behind. The theatre-price has long been made practicable by virtual international copyright for dramatic productions. There never was more absurd demagoguery than the statement that the people who pay so freely for plays, must steal books or go without them. The cry for "cheap [stolen] literature for the people" is not only dishonest, but nonsensical. There are few people who cannot buy more books than they can read, and who did not buy them before they stopped buying books at all. But in the present state of affairs, rich people who have unlimited money for other things hesitate to pay an honest price for an honest book, because they have been corrupted into a habit of paying dishonest prices for dishonest books.

I have never been one of those who have advocated international copyright with the assurance that it will not increase prices at all. It will increase the prices of first editions of books by living authors, but not more than people can well afford to pay. But even of books by such authors, those that are found capable of reaching many readers will be issued later in forms which the many readers will pay for. A frequent question with a publisher is whether to seek a narrow public at a high price, or a wide public at a low price, and it is generally settled with reference to the particular book; some books—and some of the best—will not be widely read at any price. Nevertheless there are so many books on which it makes so little difference which way the question is decided, and the difference between a high price and a low one for a given book is generally so small, relative to the incomes of the reading class, that the tendency in countries where customs and markets are well established, is to average at

* This subject was admirably treated at length in Mr. Brander Matthews's pamphlet on "Cheap Books and Good Books," which is reprinted with much other valuable matter in Mr. Putnam's compilation on "The Question of Copyright."

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a price practicable for nearly everybody, and yet a form good enough for anybody. Such is specially the case in France and Germany, and it would be in England if the small territory and exceptional distribution of wealth did not make it practicable for a great central circulating library to choke off local libraries, to buy the whole of an expensive first edition, and to hire it out at high rates. Our prices and methods may be expected to come nearer to those of France and Germany, as in fact they were before the recent saturnalia of piracy (if the reader will tolerate so mixed a metaphor). Our prices on first editions were much lower than those of England, and the books were much less luxurious. On the other hand, owing partly to our greater wealth as compared with France and Germany, and partly to our not having as many bookbinders to the square mile of our territory, our first editions were generally issued in cloth cases, while theirs are in paper covers. And, by the way, the printing of our average editions was on the whole better than the French, though that of their fine editions is unsurpassed; the reasons for all of which it is not worth while to go into now.

It is to be expected, then, that under the new law our first editions will generally cost more than now, but will be enough better made to be worth the difference, and that our own authors will sell more of them, and at a larger royalty. But it is also to be expected that in the case of books that "the people want," these first editions will be succeeded by cheaper ones—just as cheap as the people will provide a wide market for. These will be in addition to the books already spoken of, whose first editions were issued long ago, but for which a wide demand is still possible; for them, publishers will be encouraged to cultivate this demand by cheap durable editions, when they have no longer to contend against the opposition of the poor material on which our people have been principally "educated" (outside of school) for half a generation. Averaging all sorts of books, the gain will be very great, for it is not so important to have the new book cheap, even if that did not involve underpaying the author, as it is to have cheap the book that has stood the test of time, or at least that of contemporary opinion.

And now, leaving the purely economic region, let us consider

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some intellectual probabilities. Does the reader happen to realize that there is not an American cyclopedia, or hardly any other American work of reference, well revised up to date, or even up to the census of eleven years ago? New figures have been inserted in some old plates, but very few of the new generalizations which specialists should draw from the figures; and the fresh biographical and geographical and scientific matter is generally only what could be squeezed into plates by cutting out something else. When the wholesale piracy began, about the centennial of our national permissive attitude toward it, we were fairly provided with such books—full and up to date, and new ones were appearing with encouraging frequency. Since then, we have got along with those we had, with only the most unavoidable corrections. Nothing, or next to nothing, thorough and illuminating has been done.

Yet one of the foregoing expressions needs correction. We have not "got along on those we had," but on foreign ones which have been reprinted right and left and sold at the prices of stolen goods. These books answer the average man's purpose, or he does not realize that they do not, and he thinks that in them he is getting great bargains. But he remains ill-informed or misinformed when he consults them regarding his own country, and in him American editors and publishers lose the custom necessary to enable them to bring their own works broadly and thoroughly up to date, not to speak of undertaking new ones. This tremendous evil we may look upon the new law to remedy in time, perhaps very soon if those interested can feel assured of its stability.

But works of instruction, important as they are, are not as important as works of inspiration. "Give me the man who makes the songs of a nation, and I care not who makes its laws." For "songs," read all the literature of feeling and living—not only poetry, but fiction and biography, and even the dry pages of philosophy and science; for they are treating in these days questions that concern our deepest nature. In all these things, especially in fiction, we have been drawing more and more from foreign sources. Mark Twain has said (I quote him from Mr. Matthews's article already referred to):

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"Statistics of any public library will show that of every hundred books read by our people, about seventy are novels—and nine tenths of them foreign ones. They fill the imagination with an unhealthy fascination for foreign life, with its dukes and earls and kings, its fuss and feathers, its graceful immoralities, its sugar-coated injustice and oppressions; and this fascination breeds more or less dissatisfaction with our country and form of government, and contempt for our republican commonplaces and simplicities; it also breathes longings for something 'better'; which presently crop out in diseased shams and imitations of that ideal foreign life. Hence the dude."

And because the novels producing those precious results were stolen, they could be sold cheaper than the productions of our own writers, who had to be paid. So disastrous has been the result on our own literature that, as I phrased it once before, it was rapidly becoming a question whether we were to continue to have an American literature . . . whether, outside of the daily and periodical press, we were to derive our ways of thinking—our ideals of life and politics—from alien and unsympathetic sources. But this was not the whole question. With the market so gorged with trivial matter, it was rapidly becoming a question whether, with a few rare exceptions, we were going to have any serious books at all.

But now that the foreigner must be paid, we can get our native works as cheap as we can get his, and there is more chance of our encouraging a new race of Irvings and Hawthornes and Longfellows and Emersons to bring us back from Anglomania, and many other manias, to a sober working out of our own free ways, and to a new delight in our own free life.

HENRY HOLT.

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A RATIONAL SYSTEM OF PHYSICAL TRAINING.

THERE are three axioms to which physical education must conform: first, the best exercise is that which reaches the largest number and does most for the weakest men; second, the best exercise is that which makes the hardest work attractive; third, the best exercise is that which most successfully co-ordinates body, mind, and will. Developing giants, lowering records, winning races, and knocking out opponents are doubtless interesting things to do; but they are no part of that physical education which the college aims to give to its students.

Students who participate in those contests in which the maximum of muscular development and physical endurance is essential to success are martyrs to the cause of physical education. They acquire greater physical development than a student needs to carry on his college studies to the best advantage, and they form habits which oblige them to keep up, after graduation, more exercise than is consistent with engrossing professional pursuits. The influence and example of such severe training as a university crew undergoes are valuable in keeping up the athletic tone of an institution and in setting the pace for the average student to follow. But the greater physical benefit comes, not to the eight who row the great race, but to the thirty or forty who train with them, and who row only in class races or do not race at all. The college professor looks on the highly-trained athlete as Emerson looked on the monk:

> "I like a church; I like a cowl;
> I love a prophet of the soul.
> And on my heart monastic aisles
> Fall like sweet strains or pensive smiles:
> Yet not for all his faith can see
> Would I that cowlèd churchman be."

Intercollegiate athletics cannot be made the basis of physical education, because they reach only a small fraction of the col-

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lege; they do too much for the strongest and almost nothing for the weakest, whereas our first axiom demands that physical education shall reach all and shall do most for the weakest men.

The second axiom declares that the best exercise is that which makes the hardest work attractive. The elaborately-devised drill, adapted to bring each muscle into play by a specially-provided movement, set to music and stimulated by the hope of a prize at the end, is a favorite form of physical education in colleges to-day. Now this does very well for schools and voluntary classes in Christian Associations, but it is too childish, too mechanical, too monotonous and dead, permanently to interest and attract the college student. College students do not enjoy pulling first one muscle and then another, like so many puppet players performing upon themselves. They hate it, and make light of it, and shirk it in every way they can. Such systems fall short of the requirements of our second axiom.

Our third axiom is that the best exercise is that which most successfully co-ordinates body, mind, and will. The Sargent system aims to do this. By showing on a chart where a man stands in comparison with other men, by giving him a hand-book in which the remedy for his deficiencies is pointed out, and by thus awakening an interest in his own symmetrical development, this system, to a certain extent, unites mind, will, and body in physical development. Yet this union is in great measure artificial, unnatural, and unreal. The system emanates from the office rather than from the floor of the gymnasium. As a basis of statistical tabulation it is ideal. But college boys are very different beings from statisticians; and they cannot all be made to take that interest in the fine points of anthropometry which, according to the theory of this system, they ought to take.

Each of these systems has its merits, and a wise institution will borrow features from them all. In Bowdoin College every student is measured, and receives a chart in which his line is drawn and a hand-book in which exercises for making up his defects are prescribed according to the Sargent system. Each class prepares a drill for the annual athletic exhibition, and we maintain a ball nine, a football team, and a boat crew. Our main reliance, however, for physical education is upon athletic

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exercises under the immediate instruction, direction, and control of the director of the gymnasium. The Freshmen receive sufficient military drill to give them erect form and graceful bearing, and to enable the class to be directed in their subsequent work by military orders. Club-swinging is taught during the remainder of the year, as this is found to be an exercise in which a class can be most effectively brought to act in unity, and in which students take enough interest to keep it up afterwards. By the end of the Freshman year the members of the class are able to stand erect, to obey orders, to keep time, and to endure without fatigue or injury a half-hour of vigorous exercise. During the first half of the Sophomore year the class is taught the elements of wrestling. The members practice the catches, holds, and breaks at the word of command, and thus acquire, in addition to the exercise, so much of the science of wrestling as would be given in a first course of private lessons. During the last half of the year the same is done in boxing. The students practice the blows and guards, and learn the elements of self-defence. At the end of the period of exercise a space of a minute or two is allowed for boxing or wrestling matches between the pairs who have been practicing together. In the Junior year fencing with single sticks, and in the Senior year fencing with foils and masks, are taught in the same manner.

Let us test this system by our three axioms. First, it reaches every student and does most for those who are least developed. These exercises are required of all. Every student is required to come to the gymnasium, to change his clothes, and to exercise in this way half an hour a day during four days in each week from November to March. The weakest men are required to do as much of this work as the strongest, and thus greater exertion is asked from the weaker; though for supplementary work on the apparatus the classes are divided into three squads on the basis of their strength as ascertained by physical examination. In wrestling, boxing, and fencing there is no opportunity to shirk; for each man has an opponent to keep him at his work, in addition to the general oversight of the director.

This kind of exercise also fulfills the requirement of our second axiom. It is hard work; the students like it and enter

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into it with all their might. It takes advantage of young men's natural fondness for athletic contests, and enlists their athletic spirit. At the same time it does this under such control and in such moderation that the evils of excessive competition are excluded. Before this system was introduced, the enforcement of physical exercise ranked with the enforcement of attendance at church and chapel as one of the three thorns in our official flesh. Since then we have had no more difficulty in getting students to take exercise than in getting them to eat their meals. To be sure, the requirement is supported by adequate recognition in our educational curriculum. The work in the gymnasium counts as one full study for the winter term; and one thirteenth of a student's rank for the college course is based upon the regularity and fidelity with which he does the work in this department. Still we rely chiefly, for getting the work done, upon the interest and enthusiasm that it awakens in the young men themselves. The spirit in which the work in the gymnasium is done resembles rather the freedom with which they pursue an elective that they like, than the slavishness with which they set about a prescribed study that they hate.

This system also meets our third requirement; it co-ordinates body, mind, and will in exercise. Wrestling, boxing, and fencing exercise every muscle of the body, expand the lungs, quicken circulation, and stimulate perspiration; yet they do this in such a way that the student is in happy and healthy unconsciousness of it at the time. The development of his body is not presented to his mind as an external and abstract end to be attained; nor is it at every moment dependent upon an act of volition directed to that specific object. Body, mind, and will are united in doing a definite thing. The muscles themselves are thereby effectively developed; and quickness of eye, steadiness of nerve, resoluteness of will, together with such mental and moral qualities as coolness, courage, promptness, and decision, are thrown in. Physical strength, thus subjected to quick perception and prompt execution, is worth infinitely more than the same amount of mere muscle piled up on the back of a listless mind and a flabby will. The end of physical education is not the manufacture of mere muscle. It is the development of a body, strong

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to support, prompt to obey, and efficient to execute, the thought and purpose of the man.

The following table shows the relation between physical development and scholarship in the 153 graduates of Bowdoin College in the classes from 1886 to 1890. The director of the gymnasium has divided them into three equal divisions of 51 each, on the basis of proficiency in athletics. The first division includes the members of the college baseball and football teams, members of the college crews, and winners of first prizes in field-day contests during these years. The second division includes members of second nines and elevens, members of class crews, and contestants who failed to win a first prize. The third includes those who took no part in athletic sports. I have divided the same 153 men into three equal divisions of 51 each, on the basis of their scholarship as recorded in the rank books of the college. The first division includes the strong, clear, thorough scholars. The second includes the average scholars. The third includes those who were either dull or lazy, and those who carried away nothing of value from their college course except such contagious germs of wisdom as they could not help bearing with them. By arranging the athletic divisions in horizontal lines and the scholarship divisions in vertical lines, I have shown how each division in athletics is distributed among the three divisions in scholarship, and how each division in scholarship is distributed among the three divisions in athletics.

		Scholarship.			
		I.	II.	III.	Total.
Athletics.	I.	21	15	15	51
	II.	18	20	13	51
	III.	12	16	23	51
	Total.	51	51	51	153

This table shows that rank in scholarship tends to coincide with rank in physical development. The most frequent coinci-

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dence is that of third-class scholarship with third-class athletic ability, which occurs 23 times. Next in frequency is the union of first-class scholarship with first-class athletic ability, which occurs 21 times. The rarest combination of all is that of first-class scholarship with third-class athletic ability.

To infer from this table that athletic ability is related to scholarship as cause to effect would be unwarranted. These 21 first-class scholars who are also first-class athletes would have stood just as high in scholarship if there had been no intercollegiate contests in which to display their athletic prowess. But the table does show conclusively that excellent physical development, which is an indispensable condition of success in athletics, is also a favorable condition of success in scholarship. It explodes the popular fallacy that the development of the scholar's mind and that of his body are in inverse proportion, and shows that they stand in closest correlation.

The awards of the Smyth mathematical prize in Bowdoin College for the past six classes present a remarkable, if not a representative, phenomenon. This prize of $300 is based on a course in mathematics extending over two years, and is the most important college prize. Of six consecutive recipients of this prize, the first was the winner of the quarter-mile run; the second was the pitcher of the college baseball nine; the third was the most brilliant performer on the trapeze; the fourth was a man of good physical development without special athletic attainments; the fifth was the catcher of the college baseball nine and the best general athlete in college; the sixth is a candidate for a position on the college boat crew, and will next year be a member of the football eleven.

We know that every intellectual act is accompanied and conditioned by molecular changes in the cells and fibers of the nervous system, and is ultimately dependent upon the quantity and quality of blood that supports this activity of nerve and brain. We know, too, that the combined influence of a trying climate and of the strain involved in adjustment to new, complex, and rapidly-changing industrial, economic, and social conditions is overdrawing the vitality and nervous energy of our people at a rapid and ruinous rate. This strain falls most heavily upon the

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professional and mercantile classes into which our students are very largely drawn. It is the duty of the college to send out its graduates physically equipped to stand this strain themselves, and to hand down to their offspring constitutions as good and strong as their own. This duty is now recognized in theory. Every college is compelled to build a gymnasium, and to throw it open during a portion of the day. This is, in itself, a step forward. No college in New England would dare to offer its students to-day such miserable facilities and such inefficient instruction as Harvard offered its students only 12 years ago.

Yet, after all, many of our colleges are only playing with the problem. There is no definite requirement, no specific program, no academic recognition of physical education. Physical education is of sufficient importance to receive the same intelligent and business-like consideration that is given to the other departments in a college. The building must be constructed with a view to the precise use that is to be made of it. The director must be a man of collegiate and medical training, proficient himself in physical exercises and able to impart enthusiasm for them to others, and endowed with something of the military capacity to command and manage men. A man who combines these qualities and attainments should have the same academic standing and remuneration as the heads of other departments. Then the work required of the students should be as systematic and dignified, in proportion to its amount, as that in other departments.

Leave physical education entirely to the whims and caprices of the students, and extravagance and excess must be expected. Leave it entirely to the toleration of an indifferent faculty, and what wonder that the exercises become either a bore or a farce! Enlist the enthusiasm of the student under the guidance of an interested faculty, combine the ardor of youth with the wisdom of maturity, and, at an annual expense of not more than $12.50 for each student in a college of average size, it is perfectly possible to maintain a course in physical education which will give to every student who is not hopelessly handicapped by heredity or dissipation, a sound and healthy body to be the support of a vigorous intellect and the instrument of a resolute will.

WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE.

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THE NEW NORTH-WEST.

EXACTLY three hundred years after Columbus discovered the new world, Captain Gray entered the mouth of the Columbia River and laid the foundation of our claim to the territory out of which the States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho have been formed. His discovery was followed in 1804–5 by the expedition of Lewis and Clark and by the establishment of several trading posts; and as early as 1830 emigrants from the western States were making their way over the mountains into Oregon. When the Boston shipmaster sailed into the mouth of the great river of the West, less was known of the western half of this continent than was known of "Darkest Africa" before Stanley first penetrated it. It was one unbroken waste, one vast wilderness, apparently forever doomed to the solitude of nature. In less than a century a marvelous transformation has been wrought. Civilization reigns instead of barbarism; peace, law, and order prevail in place of violence, strife, and perpetual warfare; a productive country filled with thrifty, intelligent, civilized communities has taken the place of a barren region occupied only by a few savage tribes.

The progress of the best civilization has always been westward. The story of its march across the Alleghany Mountains and the vast slopes and rolling prairies of the West to the western shores of the continent forms one of the most interesting chapters in our history. What were the motives which induced the early pioneers to leave comfortable homes, to turn their backs upon civilization, and to march two thousand miles through a wilderness to find an abode on the Pacific coast? The discovery of gold is not sufficient to account for the movement, although it contributed to swell it and to hasten the settlement of California. The immigration to Oregon began long before Sutter's discovery. The prospect of cheap land does not account for it; land was cheap everywhere. The principal inducements

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were undoubtedly the mild and equable climate and rich soil, which will continue to attract population until the Pacific coast shall be as densely populated as the Atlantic seaboard. An incident recorded in Barrows's "History of Oregon" illustrates another motive, which actuated some of the earlier immigrants to the North-west. Speaking of the missionary party which crossed the continent in 1836, the author records a scene which, he states, is surpassed by few in historic grandeur. When the party had reached the Pacific slope they stopped and dismounted.

> "Then spreading their blankets and lifting the American flag, they all kneeled around the Book and with prayer and praise took possession of the western side of the continent for Christ and the church."

Again, many settlers were actuated by a desire to wrest this valuable region from British dominion. The patriotism and courage of a people and their capacity for self-government were never better illustrated than by the pioneers who settled the Oregon territory, maintained their allegiance to the general government during the period of joint occupation, and held the territory for the United States. Isolated from civilization and ignored by the authorities at Washington, they established a government of their own, so that when Congress organized a Territory it adopted, in large part, the laws already in force.

There is a limit to the westward march of colonization—a point beyond which no inviting fields are found. The Pacific Ocean is a barrier which the movement cannot pass. From the earliest settlement of Oregon the tide of immigration, upon reaching this limit, has in part turned back. Oregon furnished settlers for Idaho and Montana, and many of those who first settled west of the Cascade Mountains became, in later years, pioneer settlers in eastern Oregon and Washington. Like a stream which meets an unsurmountable obstacle, immigration will gather in volume here upon the confines of the continent.

It may be supposed by some that the impetus of railroad-construction and the westward movement of immigration to the Pacific coast has caused the advantages of the intervening territory to be underestimated; that there is room here for a great expansion of population and a large desirable field for enterprise; and that the north Pacific coast has something to fear

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from its development. But it is a matter of common knowledge that this intermediate region can support but a relatively small population; that stock-raising there requires large areas of land in comparison with more favored regions; that the supply of water for irrigation is limited; and that but a small part of its area can be made productive. South of us are considerable regions adapted to some kinds of agriculture and to mining, but these offer no great inducements in this direction to American enterprise. North of us in the vast, unsettled areas of the Dominion of Canada, there is more to attract the intending settler; but notwithstanding her large area of unoccupied territory, extensive forests, and rich mines, Canada is unable to keep her thousands of immigrants, partly on account of her climate, and partly on account of the condition of her industries and the character of her institutions, and there is a constant movement across the boundary line into the United States. For the near future, at all events, the most inviting field for adventure, investment, and settlement is thus on the north Pacific coast. In view of this it is pertinent to inquire about the capacity of this region to meet the great demands that will be made upon it and about the inducements that it offers to immigrants.

Nature everywhere in this region has been lavish with her gifts. The scenery of the Columbia River through the gorge of the Cascades is unsurpassed in grandeur by anything found in this country or in Europe, while the changing panorama of mountain scenery, of green islands, of land-locked harbors, and of thriving cities amply repays the tourist who makes the trip from Tacoma or Seattle to the British side of the Sound. The traveler going northward from California to Portland, when he enters the Willamette valley sees the snow-capped mountains of the Cascade range. From my residence in Portland, symmetrical and sublime Mount Hood, 11,218 feet high, and the beautiful sugar-loaf cone of St. Helens, 9,750 feet high, stand out in bold relief, while the rugged peak of Mount Adams, 9,570 feet high, and the summit of Mount Ranier, 14,440 feet above the sea level, are visible in the distance. Ranier is in full view from the cars for a considerable part of the distance from Portland to Tacoma, and at Tacoma and elsewhere on the Sound,

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this grand mountain, with its three glittering peaks, seems to stand like a sentinel.

The climate of both Oregon and Washington is mild and equable. In western Oregon and Washington it is difficult to draw the lines that divide the seasons. Winter is usually a wet season, but there are often long periods of perfect weather in February and March. Flowers frequently bloom in the open air in January, and green fields of growing grass and grain may be seen all winter. Once or twice during the winter a few inches of snow falls, but it disappears rapidly. At intervals of several years occurs a winter with ten days or two weeks of freezing weather and a considerable fall of snow. The summers are cool, and excessive heat is unknown. In eastern Oregon and Washington the climate is different. The dry season of summer is more protracted, the rainfall is less, and the heat is greater, though it is never excessive. The winters are colder, but of short duration, the snowfall is light and seldom lies long in the valleys, and live stock ranges on the plains all winter, thriving on the natural grasses without other food, except when the snow is unusually deep or the cold period unusually protracted. The great ocean current, 400 miles wide, formed off the coast of Asia, warms the waters of the Pacific and gives rise to the warm westerly wind known as the "Chinook," modifying the climate of the entire Pacific slope, so that the isothermal line which crosses northern Virginia is deflected northward on reaching the western slope of the continent and meets the Pacific Ocean 200 miles north of the northern boundary of Washington. Though all the cereals grow to perfection in this region, the staple product is wheat. The wheat of the Willamette valley has long been celebrated, the berry being large and plump and the weight considerably exceeding 60 pounds to the bushel. Until the last few years that valley was the principal wheat-growing section of the new North-west, but of late years wheat has become the leading production of eastern Oregon and Washington. The volcanic soil of this region, much of which was supposed a few years ago to be worthless, is peculiarly adapted to the growth of the cereals. The average yield per acre in Washington is officially stated to be 23.5 bushels, exceeding

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that of any other State in the Union. In 1890 the wheat product of Oregon was 12,865,000 bushels, and that of Washington was 8,071,000, bushels. The line of railroad down the Columbia and the Northern Pacific line across the Cascades to Puget Sound were unable to handle it for want of sufficient facilities.

Wool-growing is another great industry of this region. The climate is well adapted to sheep-raising. Owing to the mild winters the fiber of the wool is uniform, and by the proper selection of breeds and the care of flocks, the finest grades, equal to the best Australian wool, can be produced. The flocks increase rapidly, the cost of keeping is small, and the yield is large. The estimated wool product of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, for the year 1890 was 25,034,527 pounds, valued at $8,072,350.

Apples, peaches, prunes, plums, and all the small fruits—in fact, almost all the fruits grown anywhere in the temperate zones —reach perfection in Oregon and Washington, and the yield is abundant. The apples of the Willamette valley have been celebrated from an early day. Grapes do well, the soil and climate of southern Oregon being especially well adapted to them. All fruit trees mature early and bear young. Fruit-raising is destined to be one of the great industries of both Oregon and Washington. A sufficient demand for the product of their orchards is the only thing necessary to almost unlimited production. Cheaper transportation and better facilities for shipping to eastern markets will create that demand.

Among the important industries of the future in the Northwest will be the manufacture of beet sugar. Experiments in the culture of sugar beets have demonstrated that they can be produced there as successfully as in any country on the globe. Extraordinary results have been attained in some localities in Oregon, and with the encouragement now given by the government factories will, no doubt, soon be established.

Manufacturing is well advanced. Water power and fuel are abundant, and the supply of timber, coal, iron, and other material for manufacturing purposes is inexhaustible. Manufacturing is favored both by the tariff, which protects against the cheap-labor products of other countries, and by the great cost of

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transportation from the distant manufacturing States of the Union. During the year 1890 the value of products manufactured at Portland was $27,385,000; the amount of capital invested in manufacturing was $15,841.50, and the number of hands employed was 10,217.

The forests of western Oregon and Washington are the most valuable and extensive in the Union—a mine of wealth awaiting only the touch of human industry to be transmuted into gold. The trees are principally evergreens, the most valuable being the Douglas fir, the white cedar, the hemlock, the spruce, the white pine, and the balsam. The Douglas fir constitutes the main part of the forests; trees of this variety 200 feet high and ten feet in diameter are not uncommon. A year or two ago a lumberman shipped from Puget Sound to San Francisco a fir stick 154 feet long and 24 inches thick. It is estimated that there are 20,000,000 acres of forest land and 400,000,000,000 feet of merchantable timber in western Washington. The amount of timber land in western Oregon is not so great, but immense forests cover the uplands and the mountain slopes. The present capacity of the Puget Sound mills alone exceeds 900,000,000 feet per annum. Some of these mills manufacture logs 120 feet long and six feet in diameter, and many of the Douglas firs are too large for their present capacity.

Ship-building has been carried on to a considerable extent upon Puget Sound, the Columbia River, and Coos Bay, and will be one of the great industries of the future. The cheapest, safest, swiftest, and best carriers of grain from the Pacific coast have been American wooden sailing ships. The finest timber in the world for building such ships grows in Oregon and Washington. The Douglas fir, on account of its great strength and durability, is very valuable for this purpose, and has been for many years past shipped to the Atlantic ports and elsewhere for spars. In 1890 three sailing vessels and 22 steamers were built in Oregon, and 12 sailing vessels and 22 steamers in Washington. Twenty-eight steamers are now constructing within the Portland district, on the Columbia and Willamette Rivers, most of them at Portland.

The fisheries are important and valuable. Deep-sea fishing

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has been successfully carried on, and this industry only requires a sufficient market for the product to rival that of any part of the world. Salmon, halibut, sturgeon, smelt, salmon trout, mountain trout, and other food fishes abound, and the rivers have been successfully stocked with shad. The principal salmon-canning establishments are on the Columbia River, but this industry is also to be found on several other rivers on the Oregon coast and on Shoal Water Bay, Gray's Harbor, and Puget Sound. The value of the exported product of the salmon-canneries on the lower Columbia River was in 1889, $2,636,368.

The deposits of the precious metals in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho are a continuation of the rich deposits in California and Nevada. They are found mainly in southern and eastern Oregon, in the north-eastern part of Washington, and in northern Idaho. Large quantities of placer gold, when gold was first discovered in those localities, were mined in southern and eastern Oregon and Washington, and in Idaho; but until very recently, owing principally to the lack of transportation facilities, quartz mining has not been greatly developed. Valuable ledges of gold-bearing and silver-bearing quartz have long been known to exist, and numerous recent discoveries have been made. Several of these are now being developed, and to secure the transportation of their products railroads are being constructed. The report of the director of the mint shows that the yield of precious metals is annually increasing; in 1890 it was as follows:

	Idaho.	Oregon.	Washington.	Total.
Gold,.....	$1,696,741	$1,087,125	$204,000	$2,987,866
Silver,.....	4,803,717	129,199	90,025	5,022,941

The resources of this region in copper, iron, coal, marble, and building stone are abundant. There are eleven coal mines working in Washington, and the output in 1888 was 1,183,801 tons. Iron ore exists in abundance in both Oregon and Washington, and consists of bog ore or limonite, hematite, and magnetic ore. The smelting works at Irondale, Washington, and at Oswego, on the Willamette, six miles above Portland, produce excellent pig

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iron, and when there shall be a sufficient demand for the product, hundreds of such establishments will spring up in both Oregon and Washington, and rolling mills and other manufactories of iron and steel will be established and successfully operated.

The area of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho is about 250,000 square miles—more than double that of Great Britain and Ireland and more than thirty times that of Massachusetts. My estimate is that more than two thirds of the entire area of this region is susceptible of cultivation. Assuming Oregon and Washington to be capable of sustaining a population only one third as dense as that of Belgium, Oregon could support more than 16,600,000 people and Washington more than 11,300,000.

Properly to estimate the productiveness of this region it must be considered with reference to the population, and to the fact that many of its industries have just been established. In Belgium, with more than 6,000,000 people, there were in 1880 271,974 horses, 1,382,815 horned cattle, 365,400 sheep, and 646,375 hogs. In Oregon, with a population of 313,767—less than one nineteenth that of Belgium—there were in 1890, as shown by official reports, 181,236 horses, 826,522 horned cattle, 2,929,830 sheep, and 229,630 hogs. Ohio, with a population of 3,672,316, has 779,323 horses, 1,700,942 horned cattle, 4,061,897 sheep, and 2,741,565 hogs. Ohio produced in 1890 29,984,000 bushels of wheat weighing 56 pounds to the bushel, or less than 8.2 bushels *per capita*, while Oregon produced 12,865,000 bushels, weighing 60 pounds to the bushel, or more than 41 bushels *per capita*.

The following comparative statement, taken from the census returns, shows a surprising recent increase of population:

States.	Population. 1870.	1880.	1890.
Oregon,.....	90,923	174,768	313,767
Washington,..	23,955	75,116	345,390
Idaho,.....	14,999	32,610	84,385
Cities.			
Portland,.....	8,293	17,517	46,384
Seattle, ...	1,107	3,533	42,837
Tacoma,.....	....	1,098	36,006
Spokane Falls,.....	....	350	19,922

Portland, East Portland, and Albina, separated only by the

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Willamette River and constituting in fact one city, though with separate municipal governments, contained, when the last enumeration was made, a population of 62,045. The people of these cities are about to vote upon a proposition to consolidate them.

The great increase of banks and banking capital in this region within the last few years is an index to its development. In 1885 Oregon, Washington, and Idaho contained 40 banks with a capital of $2,970,000. The same States now contain more than 200 banks with a capital of more than $17,000,000. Between 1885 and 1891 the deposits in national banks alone, in the three States, increased from $4,366,958 to $23,540,172. There are fourteen banking institutions, domestic and foreign, doing business in Portland, with an aggregate capital of $9,000,000 and an undivided surplus of $3,634,345, and three more organized banks, with an aggregate capital of $700,000, have not commenced business. The volume of the jobbing trade of Portland was, in 1888, $75,000,000; in 1889, $115,000,000; and in 1890, $131,550.

No better proof is required of the value of the resources of this region and of its desirability for residence and investment than the haste with which competing lines of railroads have been constructed across the continent to reach it, and the great activity of rival companies displayed there in railroad construction to reach the wheat-growing regions and the valuable timber and mineral sections. The railway has been the great factor in the development of this region, as it has been in the whole march of civilization westward within the last quarter of a century. The aggregate railroad mileage in Oregon is 1,350½ miles, exclusive of switches and side tracks. Construction is proceeding on incompleted roads, and several new lines are projected. In Washington there were, in 1889, 1,542 miles of railroad. The work of construction upon several other lines and branches has since been pushed, and the total mileage has been greatly increased. Oregon and Washington now have connection with the railroad system terminating at San Francisco, so that the transcontinental lines centering at that point compete with the Union Pacific and the Northern Pacific for the traffic of the north Pacific coast. The Canadian Pacific also is a formidable competitor for this trade.

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The construction of the Nicaragua Canal, the completion of which, within the next decade, appears to be assured, will have a marked effect upon the commerce of the coast and the development of its resources. It will shorten the distance between Puget Sound and New Orleans 11,005 miles, and between Liverpool and the mouth of the Columbia River 6,926 miles. To obtain an adequate idea of the advantages of the commercial and geographical position of this region, one should study the subject with the map before him. In the heart of western Washington is the Mediterranean of the West, with its safe entrance, deep channels, and capacious harbors. Dividing Oregon and Washington for about 270 miles is the Columbia River, which extends through eastern Washington across the international boundary, and, making a great bend, reaches the heart of Montana. It will be navigable, when improvements which are entirely practicable shall have been made, for 1,200 miles from its mouth, and with its navigable branches forms a great system of waterways for internal commerce. Oregon has 570 miles of navigable water front—300 miles on the Pacific Ocean and 270 miles on the Columbia River. The Willamette River is navigable for 120 miles from its mouth to near the head of the Willamette valley, and has several navigable branches. Along the coasts of Oregon and Washington are several valuable and important harbors.

This section possesses peculiar advantages for controlling the trade and fisheries of Alaska and the trade between the American possessions and British Columbia. It is to share in the rich and growing commerce between the Pacific coast of the United States and the Pacific coasts of Mexico, Central America, and South America. But it is when we turn to a study of its advantages for trade with Asiatic countries and the islands of the Pacific that the possibilities of its foreign commerce begin to dawn upon us. The commercial outlook of this region is westward. It is nearer by the breadth of a continent to the markets of the old East and of the Pacific islands than are the Atlantic ports. No just estimate can be placed upon the future volume and value of the trade with Asia. No one nation can control it, but the struggle to possess it will be mainly between England and our Pacific coast States. British statesmen, with proverbial

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sagacity, foresaw this struggle, and it was not the result of accident that in settling the Oregon boundary we lost the island of Vancouver and half of Puget Sound. In this struggle the new North-west will have an advantage over California in distance, and in the fact that the ocean stream which rises off the coast of Asia and flows eastward to the American continent gives to every ship bound for a north-western port a gain of 20 miles in every 24 hours. The region will have an advantage over Great Britain in the local production of the staple articles required for the Asiatic trade.

He who should now undertake to estimate the commerce of the Pacific coast with Asia and the Pacific islands twenty-five years hence would find few who would not consider his estimate exaggerated. Looking toward the securing of this valuable trade, the Canadian government, with subsidies which dwarf into insignificance the aid given by the United States to the transcontinental railroads, pushed the Canadian Pacific across the continent through unproductive regions, and the British and Canadian governments have subsidized a line of steamers plying between the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railroad upon Puget Sound and the ports of China and Japan. A cable line is projected, to connect British Columbia with the Sandwich Islands and China, and nothing that wise statesmanship, liberal subsidies, and an aggressive policy can do to secure the prize will be left undone. We have already an important and growing coastwise commerce on the Pacific coast, employing a large fleet of steamships and sailing vessels.

A large fleet of sailing vessels is engaged in transporting to foreign ports the exports of wheat, wool, fish, lumber, and other products of Oregon and Washington, and the flags of most maritime nations may be seen in their harbors. The value of products shipped from the city of Portland over the Columbia bar, to foreign and domestic ports, for the year ending July 31, 1889, was—foreign, $6,634,989; foreign and domestic, $16,197,804. The number of vessels engaged in transporting the foreign export of wheat and flour from Oregon ports for the year ending March 31, 1891, was 60, of which seven were American, two German, and 51 British, with a total tonnage of 85,710 tons.

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They carried 3,675,943 centals, worth $4,057,181, and received $1,303,446 for freight, the freight charges amounting to 32.126 per cent. of the value of the cargoes. The number of vessels engaged in the same trade in Washington was 35, of which three were American and 32 British, with a total tonnage of 55.962 tons, carrying 1,897,490 centals, worth $2,638,784. They received $819,028 as freight, the freight charges being 31.03 per cent. of the value of the cargoes. The number of vessels engaged in transporting lumber to foreign countries from the two States—the larger number being from Washington—was 199, of which 115 were American, 36 British, 28 Chilian, 12 Norwegian, seven German, and one Hawaiian. Their aggregate tonnage was 172,391 tons; they carried 148,879,485 feet, worth $1,612,357, for which was paid $2,101,070 freight charges, being 130.31 per cent. of the value of the cargoes. There are regular lines of steamships plying between San Francisco and the ports of China and Japan, and steamships and sailing vessels are employed in bringing from Asiatic ports cargoes of tea, silk, and rice to the Columbia River and Puget Sound ports. Separate lines of steamships are projected to engage in the trans-Pacific trade between Portland and Puget Sound and the ports of China and Japan. During April of this year three steamships left Chinese ports with cargoes of Chinese merchandise for Portland, and it is understood that two of them belonged to the new line.

Fancy can hardly paint the future of this favored region. It is now nearly thirty years since I sought a home there. I was then enthusiastic as to the future of the section, and observant of the conditions which promised its development; and every year has increased my confidence in its great destiny. Events which then appeared to lie in the distant future have occurred in rapid succession, and circumstances now foretell a grander development than was then dreamed of and promise that civilization will reach, at the point where it completes its circuit of the globe, a state of unsurpassed and incomparable splendor.

JOSEPH N. DOLPH.

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FINANCIAL.

A GLANCE AT OUR FINANCES.

THE monetary situation in the United States for some time past has been animated by what may be described as two conflicting financial emotions. On the one hand, the European situation has not been reassuring, and this has tended to depression, not only through the closely sympathetic relations of the foreign bourses with New York, but also through the copious stream of gold recently attracted thither from America. But, on the other hand, the domestic financial situation has been good and the crop outlook excellent, so that the prospects plainly indicate ample railroad traffic and a large export of American food supplies in the Autumn to meet European necessities. These conflicting financial emotions alternately affected that great monetary barometer, the New York Stock Exchange, causing generally advancing prices, until the gold drain became so excessive as to overbear everything else, and early in May produced a reaction. The usual period of Spring settlements this year was passed without creating serious inconvenience or more than momentary and spasmodic tightenings of the money market. The great speculative constituency of Wall Street, always hopeful and generally buoyant in feeling, despite every setback, have steadily looked forward to the Summer and Autumn as sure to bring a season of prosperity, and in this view they seem to be sustained by most of the signs afforded by the indication of ample food crops at home and a serious shortage abroad.

Probably the paramount immediate phase of our finances has been the copious outflow of gold that has been going from New York to Europe in a steady stream, which early in May was swollen to the volume of a million a day. Much of this outflow has been in the face of a condition of the foreign exchanges which indicated no profit for the bankers making the shipment. But the foreign banks must have the gold, and they appear to have cheerfully recouped all losses on the transactions. It seems that in the early Spring a condition of financial anxiety was developed at Berlin, which led those in authority to adopt a policy tending to bring large supplies of gold to the Imperial Bank even though the process netted a loss. The golden stream was consequently set in motion from Paris and London, and soon afterward from New York, certain astute exchange brokers who are close students of the world's exchanges having discovered that the conditions of the import trade of the United States must sooner or later require large gold

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shipments to Europe to adjust trade balances. The golden export went on, steadily swelling at New York, as it was discouraged at London and soon afterward at Paris; the French bankers showing, like those of Berlin, a feverish desire to accumulate gold. Then came a development which led the Bank of England to adopt a policy that would stop any drain from London and attract gold thither. Russia became restless and also wanted gold, and her finance minister indicated the intention of calling home her deposits, which were large in London, Paris, and Berlin, so that he gave an electric shock at the financial center. This action would seriously affect the Bank of England reserves, so that the antidote was at once applied; the discount rate was advanced by successive stages, and inducements were held out by increasing the price of American eagles to a figure giving a premium of more than two dollars per thousand dollars. These tactics were so effective that at the time this article is written, much of the golden stream flowing from America is being diverted from the continent of Europe to London.

Whether the United States can stand such a drain of gold, has often been the subject of serious consideration, but an important factor in the situation must not be forgotten, and this is that the United States is a large producer of gold, as of wheat, cotton, and silver, and it can afford to spare a generous surplus of any of its staple crops for foreign consumption. The Director of the Mint tells us that our mines are producing gold at the rate of thirty-three millions a year, and that during the past sixteen years the gold product of the mines of the United States has aggregated the large total of $572,920,000, nearly the whole of which has found its way directly to the various mints. Then during the same period of sixteen years the ebb and flow of the golden tide across the Atlantic resulted, when the final balance was cast, in an actual excess of gold imported into the country, of $93,466,000. This is notwithstanding the fact that during the first two years of the period 1875–76, there was an actual loss to the country upon the trans-Atlantic gold movement, of $76,469,000.

During more than a half-year past, the United States has been the only leading country in the world that has had comparative financial health, and this has come mainly through its possession of the largest stocks of the precious metals, and the generally good condition of its government finances. It has sometimes caught contagious disease from Europe, but the attack has hardly been severe, and never critical. France, Germany, and England have all had sharp crises, and in each case when the stage became acute, the relief has been sought from America. The foreigners, short of ready money, have sold us back large amounts of American securities, and the people of the United States have absorbed them without much trouble, and have paid the excess of purchase money over the trade balance, probably in the export of gold. This will soon be followed, however, as it is confidently hoped, by the large anticipated export of produce when the crops are harvested, for which long-sight sterling bills are already being sold in

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advance. If Europe has to buy food of us to anything like the amounts expected, there is a prevalent belief among our bankers that in the Autumn the golden stream across the ocean will again turn strongly westward.

The American crop outlook, as it is now forecast in the month of May, is indeed something almost beyond belief. In the first place the acreage sown in cereals largely exceeds anything ever before known in this country, the seeding of Spring wheat in the North-west during the last of April and the first week of May having been something unprecedented, showing that an enormous crop will be grown of that prime favorite in all the markets of the world—the "number one hard." The improved modern machinery of the farm has made this task of seeding comparatively easy. The farmers use drills sixteen and one half feet wide, and every mile they drive over these almost limitless expanses of land means the seeding of two acres; the sun and rains do all the rest until harvest. One drill driven twenty miles a day plants forty acres, so that sixteen teams can in a day seed a square mile. This indicates the vast product that impends; while in the second place crop shortages are complained of everywhere abroad, and particularly in France. To cheapen the importation of wheat and flour, the French government has already made a radical reduction in its import duties. Food must be got for the millions, and America is almost the only great wheat granary of the world which at the present outlook seems to indicate a probability of having an ample surplus. Then our corn crop, ready packed on the farm in the convenient form of the hog, will go by the shipload to the continent of Europe when we can avail ourselves of the ameliorated conditions of import which are about readmitting pork products to France and Germany. To increase the American export trade thus largely, will mean much for every business interest in the country—the shipping, the railroads, and kindred trades—and it particularly insures the general prosperity of the farmers, who are to-day specially gratified by seeing wheat quoted at a higher figure than has been known for years.

But above everything else, the chief indicator of American prosperity seems to be the railroad situation. This is the leading business interest, employing an enormous capital and sustaining a vast army of the population, so that whatever stimulates traffic and enlarges the earning power of the railroads is always sure to exert a healthy influence throughout the United States. The outlook for a good railway year has been the main sustaining power this season at the Stock Exchange, and this has been almost sufficient heretofore to overcome most of the discouraging developments, whether the outflow of gold or whatever else may have temporarily overcast the financial horizon. The recent meeting of the Western Traffic Association in New York has indicated the existence of reasonably harmonious relations among the railways, and an intention to prevent rate-cutting, which, while it gratifies spleen, usually paralyzes profits; so that a better era may be com-

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ing. This is secured also by the solid fact, always heretofore potentially demonstrated in railroading, that when traffic is plenty enough to give all the railways ample occupation, there is no cutting of rates. The general financial outlook is consequently good, and there seems no reason to despair of the business interests of the Republic, for the current year at least, so long as the basis for trade seems so broad and we have the present large supply of the precious metals. The Director of the Mint says there are $690,000,000 in gold in the country, and it is known that besides the large amounts in circulation and in the vaults of the banks, the Treasury held on May first, nearly $281,000,000 in gold coin and bullion. Besides this actual gold, there was then also nearly $387,000,000 in silver coin and bullion in the Treasury vaults. With something like 668,000,000 of the precious metals thus held in the Federal Treasury as the basis of the business fabric, the United States would seem to be well equipped for the financial campaign during the remainder of the year of grace, 1891.

JOEL COOK.

PHILADELPHIA.

WESTERN LANDS AND MORTGAGES.

THE year 1887 was one of financial adventure in the West. Railways were multiplied; towns were built and "boomed." People pushed into the arid public lands, and insisted that they were arable. Whole counties were settled and organized. It was the fashion to pre-empt land and to own town sites and city lots. Corporations innumerable were created for the promotion of all sorts of enterprises. Many financial follies were committed.

Speaking generally of the West, it may be said that sufficient time has now elapsed since the speculative fever culminated to enable us to appreciate those follies, to apportion the responsibility for them, and in some degree to estimate their results.

As to responsibilities, eastern investors should not let their losses, as they once did their profits, blind them to the facts. The western States are precisely what they were during the ten years prior to 1888, when western investments were almost invariably profitable, and often enormously so. The resources, the soil, the climate, are unchanged. The western people, too, are the same. Whatever losses eastern investors suffered are chargeable not to western territory or people, but chiefly to the speculative fever which culminated in 1887, and which was produced quite as much by the cupidity and folly of the eastern investor as by any other cause.

But the investor is not so much interested in the origin of the mistakes of 1887 as he is in the results and in the present outlook. These results and this outlook are by no means what his imagination, and the newspapers, and those eastern brokers who are quietly buying in western securities have painted them. Let the eastern investor beware of

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panic; for, just as some losses were entailed by over-confidence in 1887, so additional losses are threatened now by too little confidence.

As to farm mortgages, there need be little apprehension as to loans not now in default. Mortgages made in 1887 and 1888 which have been taken care of during the past two or three hard years will be paid in full. The fact that interest on such mortgages has been kept up means either that the land is good, interest-earning land, even in bad times, or that the borrower is financially responsible and likely to remain so. Usually it means the former; frequently it means both.

As to defaulted loans, of course some of them were bad when made, and are much worse now. They were purchases, not loans. But there were also many good loans made, now in default, the security still good, but the borrower bankrupt. There will be considerable loss on farm loans made east of the Rocky Mountains and west of the hundredth meridian; and also on loans made on some classes of so-called city property. Generally speaking, however, it seems likely that east of the hundredth meridian a large percentage of the defaults will be made good during the next twelve months. Many have been made good since January first. Western farm lands east of the hundredth meridian are in demand both for purchase and for lease. Where in 1890 farms could not be sold at any price, in 1891 they are actually sold at from ten to twenty per cent. advance upon the former prices asked. In the Spring of 1891 tenants were begging for farms that begged for tenants in 1890. This means that there has been a considerable returning from the arid parts of Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado, from the Pacific coast and from the East, to the arable lands of Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, and Iowa. There has also been something of an exodus from the towns and villages to the farms. Farmers are, generally speaking, prosperous throughout all the arable region. Their products are bringing high prices. There is no great surplus to depress prices during the coming Summer and Autumn. Crop prospects are excellent. Farmers have stopped borrowing money, and have set to work in earnest to pay their debts. The supply of farm-mortgage money more than equals the demand. Official records show that the mortgage indebtedness is diminishing. Thus a carefully-prepared report of the register of deeds of one average Kansas county shows that the real and chattel-mortgage indebtedness of the county was reduced in 1890 by half a million dollars, and in the first three months of 1891 by almost a quarter of a million more. It is estimated that in the State of Kansas the total recorded indebtedness was reduced at least ten millions in 1890.

The census will show a large grand total of western mortgages—a fact which investors may easily misunderstand. More than half of this indebtedness will be shown to be for purchase money. A great proportion of purchase-money indebtedness is, of course, held in the West. Men owe for lands purchased, and hold claims against lands sold. Such indebtedness may be very large indeed, and still mean the reverse of bankruptcy.

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Investors need not be alarmed by the recent political revolution. Unquestionably, in the campaign, the Alliance leaders talked something very like repudiation. But on such topics they did not carry the rank and file with them. The leader himself, in office, is different from the leader on the stump. The Alliance success was chiefly the result of low prices and bad crops. The farmer was discontented, and he determined to try what virtue there might be in politics. He had no revolution in mind; no definite economic plan to carry out. Change of opinion, enlightenment, and conviction regarding economic questions did not create the Alliance; discontent created it. If the movement hereafter leads to enlightenment and conviction, it will be well for the country. If it does not, the Alliance will be short-lived. In any case, nothing revolutionary need be apprehended.

Investors will do well to allow the companies that made their loans to manage them, except where they have real reason to suspect dishonesty or incapacity. Losses in western mortgages, lands, and mortgage-company stocks will not be great, considering the grand total of such investments made; and these losses will be insignificant compared with the losses in other kinds of investments concerning which there is no outcry. They will be insignificant, for example, compared with the losses in the New York stock market for 1890.

The East has invested largely in the stock of western mortgage companies. Some of these companies are irretrievably ruined; many have suspended payment, and probably more will do so. Few, if any, of the older companies have failed. The mushroom companies went down or will go down. Some of these companies were wrecked because their loans were made with a view, not to the amount of the security, but to the amount of commission offered. Such companies were ready to advance money upon mere acres, regardless of whether those acres were good ground or stony ground, swamp land or sand hill. Other companies have come to grief because they were used mainly for building uncalled-for houses in premature and unpeopled town sites and additions to town sites. The quicker such companies are out of the field, the better it will be for investors. It is to be observed that the failures, after all, have not been very numerous in proportion to the number of companies in existence. It is probable that the day of the large mortgage companies, with their branch offices, agencies, and subagencies, has passed. The borrower and lender will hereafter get closer together. There will be fewer middle-men to shirk responsibility.

Western mines are now, generally speaking, beyond the gambling point. Miners are working low-grade ores necessarily in a conservative manner. Owing to abundance of capital and improved machinery the output is very great. A great part of mining stock scattered over the East is, of course, worthless. It was the product of the mining excitement of ten years ago. The irrigated lands of Colorado are rising in value, as are also the securities of well-managed irrigation companies.

Western municipal securities are being promptly met. This is gen-

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erally true, even of western Kansas and Nebraska, where financial reverses have been most severe.

Nothing can be said which is generally applicable to miscellaneous enterprises and securities, except that they have suffered from general financial depression, and will improve with the general improvement.

Companies operating under municipal franchises, such as gas, electric-light, water, and street-railway companies, depend for their prosperity upon the condition of the cities where they are located. Such companies have been "promoted" somewhat beyond the real demand.

The bank record of the West during the past three years is remarkable, considering all the conditions. It has been clearly demonstrated that western banking capital is under the control of sound and conservative financiers. During the past winter the bank reserves have been enormous. No speculative loans have been made, and few of any kind. The demand for loans has been unusually light. The banks, of course, have made no money. Fears of panic have now passed, and reserves are diminishing. Attention is directed to the reports of Kansas national banks called for on the 4th of May.

J. WILLIS GLEED.

TOPEKA, KANSAS.

SOUTHERN FINANCIAL INTERESTS.

FINANCIALLY, the Southern States are glowing with health and promise, and rejoicing in the consciousness of their essential greatness. No furor has been created by sensational advertising, but the world has been astonished by the latest statistics of wonderful growth as shown in the national census of 1890. The sum of all is in the fact that the assessed value of property in nine States is estimated by the census officials to have grown from $3,000,000,000 in 1880 to $6,000,000,000 in 1890.

The reports of the census everywhere tell of enlarged and enlarging areas of cultivation, of new mines of coal and iron, excellent in quality and inexhaustible in quantity, of new manufactories in every department of human industry. All the bases of wealth and of sound and satisfactory finance are here; and in my opinion Southern enterprises are animated, sustained, and fortified by as sincere and high a regard for commercial credit and personal honor, and by as profound a conviction of the necessity of fair dealing, as are to be found anywhere.

The cotton crop, which has steadily advanced since the war, has increased from 5,000,000 bales in 1879 to more than 8,000,000 bales in the past year, and every fiber of it finds a near and ready market at good prices. Our fruits and vegetables and general agricultural products go on improving in quantity and quality and are more and more in demand. The market goes on enlarging with improved transportation and familiar use in distant States. The trade in fruits and vegetables has grown into an immense business. Our coal and iron attract the

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attention of the world, the product now equaling that of the whole country two decades past. Our railroads constitute an arterial system. They are natural and legitimate highways, connecting the most important sources of production with the great centres of trade, and they are so located and distributed as, for the most part, to exclude ruinous competition and to discourage paralleling. They have, through their main channels and feeders, built up and enriched their territories, and, latterly, well remunerated their operators.

Under these circumstances our financial condition has steadily improved and is improving. Wealth has been generally diffused, and has increased in the hands of individuals. Growing wealth and development have immensely stimulated enterprise, and more and more capital is wanted for legitimate ventures. Health and growth are manifest everywhere. Our chief desire is peace and non-interference from governmental sources.

The free coinage of silver has been and is now more or less a sensation, and to a certain degree has affected us as a bare future danger. Other causes are now, to some extent, quieting our investment market. But the gold-paying feature in securities is so far regarded and so far a recommendation as to prove that free coinage is an apprehension and a danger ahead. Yet there is not enough of this craze seriously to affect our finances. The people of the South have seen the miserable demoralization, distrust, gambling, and destruction of regular trade that comes of a debased currency. And it is easy to appreciate the great disadvantage that would come to our farmers, our manufacturers, and our merchants, but most of all to our wage-earners and salaried men, if they were paid for their products and hard labor in a currency that is itself liable to fluctuate in value and in purchasing power. American wealth, and skill, and labor cannot afford to be represented in foreign lands by a currency that has no dignity beyond its market value. A debased currency hastened the fall of the Confederacy. A currency that has never been surpassed has helped and insured a wonderful prosperity since the war. And we are not likely to exchange a blessing for what will be certainly a most dangerous experiment if not a delusive evil.

At this time it seems to me very plain that the securities and properties of the South rest on the strongest and surest foundations that finance can ask; that they are full of assured value and excellent promise. And I doubt whether anywhere else on earth so many elements and conditions combine to invite capital, and enterprise, and intelligence, and character.

The Southern States, out of utter ruin, have adjusted their debts and re-established their credit. Municipal loans are deservedly in high credit and favor. City debts are limited by charter to a safe percentage of their taxable property. Our railroad mortgages are small compared with the value of their property. And in very many cases stocks and income bonds represent a small capitalization of actual value.

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Our State, municipal, and railroad bonds are to be had at low prices compared with the same class of securities elsewhere, and our income bonds and stocks are low and full of promise to those who have the wisdom to see their value and the nerve to act on their own judgments. Many of our stocks, dividend-earning and paying, are exceptionally low.

There is one event, daily growing nearer to its accomplishment, which will be of incalculable importance to the whole South. The completion of the Nicaragua isthmian canal promises to make a new and grander Mediterranean of our Caribbean Sea and Gulf; to make of Galveston, New Orleans, Mobile, and Tallahassee a Venice, a Genoa, a Florence, and a Marseilles, and to make the city of New York the settling point of the world. The effect of this great achievement will be to enrich the whole country and to make us one great people as nothing else can do.

JOHN L. WILLIAMS.

RICHMOND, VA.

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BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

The Life and Times of John Dickinson (J. B. Lippincott Company), by Charles J. Stillé, worthily revives the memory of an early statesman, whose career was distinguished not only by great services to the colonies, but also by a robust independence. A leader in the opposition to the Stamp Act, and for some time after the enforcement of the Boston Port Bill, according to Bancroft, "controlling the counsels of the country," Dickinson did not hesitate to sacrifice his popularity and to incur wide-spread odium by resisting what seemed to him precipitate measures, like the signing of the Declaration of Independence. His "Vindication" of his course during the Revolution is a document of refreshing vigor. Indeed, the story of his life shows a personality so strong and sound that the patriotic Pennsylvanian must sigh as he closes the book and contrasts the weakness and flabbiness which characterize the Commonwealth's public men a century later.——"Ministers" is the first entry in a list of things required for the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which is preserved among the earliest records, and it is most fit that a series on the "Makers of America" should include the *Life of Francis Higginson* (Dodd, Mead & Co.), by his descendant Thomas Wentworth Higginson. The first minister in this colony, he lived little more than a year after his arrival, but his leadership was so marked that Cotton Mather placed his name at the head when he wrote the memoirs of more than thirty of the founders of New England. His "Description of the Commodities and Discommodities" of the region, written in 1630, in the quaint style of that day, is an extremely interesting feature of the book.——*The Life of Ferdinand Magellan* (Dodd, Mead & Co.), by F. H. H. Guillemard, is the latest issue in the series of "The World's Great Explorers." It was high time that such a book should be written, for no biography of Magellan in the English language had ever been published. In truth, the first circumnavigator of the globe has not yet received from the world the recognition which his eminence in exploration should have assured him. Mr. Guillemard brings out well the sturdy qualities of the great Portuguese.

The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783 (Little, Brown & Co.), by Captain A. T. Mahan of the United States Navy, is an attempt to fill an obvious gap in historical writing. There have been chroniclers of naval occurrences in plenty, but they have generally confined themselves to the events which they described. On the other hand most historians of nations and of periods have not been familiar with maritime affairs, and so were not likely to appreciate fully the influ-

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ence of naval victories and defeats. Captain Mahan has sought to show that the real bearing of sea power upon the course of history, from the opening of the sailing-ship era to the end of the Revolution, was far greater than is supposed. An enthusiast in any profession always runs great risk of exaggerating its actual share in the development of the world, but Captain Mahan makes out his case, and in a very interesting way.——*The Old Navy and the New* (J. B. Lippincott Company), by Rear Admiral Daniel Ammen, U. S. N., touches the same subject upon its personal rather than its philosophical side. It is essentially the story of his life by a veteran in the navy, who was appointed midshipman in 1836, by the same Congressman Hamer, by the way, who secured Grant a place at West Point. The boys were neighbors and playmates (Ammen saving Grant from being drowned at the age of seven), and they continued life-long friends. Ammen's principal purpose in these memoirs is to note the changes in naval architecture and armament during his career, and their effect upon naval life, and this he does in a gossipy style, which preserves not a few trifling incidents, but furnishes a great mass of really significant facts. An appendix contains a number of Grant's personal letters, written chiefly during his tour of the world, and bearing fresh witness to the deep interest which he shared with Ammen in the Nicaragua Canal project.

Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha (Frederick Warne & Co.), by Major Gaetano Casati, is the latest contribution to our fast-growing stock of information about Central Africa. Casati is an Italian who, after a creditable service of twenty years in the army, resigned in order to study geographical science and eagerly took an opportunity to join the ranks of explorers. His work adds some interesting facts to the world's knowledge of Equatoria, but its chief value consists in the light which it throws upon the curious character of Emin Pasha, with whom he was closely associated.——As "the Dark Continent" is exposed to view, the curiosity of the world centers more and more about those polar regions which have not yet surrendered their mysteries. *The First Crossing of Greenland* (Longmans, Green & Co.), by Fridtjof Nansen, is the record of an Arctic trip which solved one of those mysteries, and proved that the interior is only one mass of unbroken ice. The distinctive feature of this expedition was its successful use of the "ski," a Norwegian form of the ordinary snow-shoe which is a most extraordinary piece of foot-gear. The description of the Eskimo race is exceedingly interesting and valuable, done with a sympathetic touch which arouses also the reader's pity for what Nansen calls "a dying people, who, long since wounded by the venomous sting of external culture, are now perhaps past recovery."——The growing discussion as to closer relations with our northern neighbors has created a demand for such a book as *Canada and the Canadian Question* (Macmillan & Co.), by Goldwin Smith, which sketches the history of the country, outlines its constitution and considers the problem of its future. Professor Smith believes that "the primary forces" are work-

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ing toward a union with this nation, and that it is only a question of time when the crisis will arrive.——*The Question of Copyright* (G. P. Putnam's Sons), compiled by Geo. Haven Putnam, brings together various sketches by several writers on the nature and origin of copyright, its development in England and the United States, the struggle for international copyright, and the bearing of existing laws on the interests of writers and their readers. Such a compilation is timely, and nobody is better qualified to elucidate the subject than Mr. Putnam, whose connection with the long struggle for justice to authors has been most honorable.

Electricity (D. Appleton & Co.), by Emma Marie Caillard, professes to do no more than give an outline of modern electrical science, which can be understood by people who have never studied the subject and will never have the time for study, but who want to know enough about this wonderful subject to understand the principles of the electric lamp or the electric car. The expert is sure to pick an occasional flaw in such a book, but the untrained readers for whom it is prepared will find it trustworthy in all important points.

The Old Documents and the New Bible (James Pott & Co.), by J. Paterson Smyth, professes to be "an easy lesson for the people in Biblical criticism" and makes good the claim. Popular interest in all questions relating to the authenticity of the Scriptures was never before so keen as now, and this book is the first of a series intended to bring the results of modern study within the easy comprehension of the "plain people."——*Hindoo Literature: or the Ancient Books of India* (S. C. Griggs & Co.), by Elizabeth A. Reed, is an attempt to compress within a volume of 400 pages the chronology of these books, their place in the world's history, a *résumé* of their teachings and specimens of their literary style—in short, to furnish an intelligible idea of Hindoo literature in a condensed form.

Paris of To-day (Cassell Publishing Company), translated from the Danish of Richard Kaufmann by Miss Olga Flinch, proves to be the Paris of 1889; and as the illustrations are of that year's scenes, the women depicted inevitably lack that *haut ton* which is the chief characteristic of the Parisian woman. The illustrations, which abound throughout the book, range from the atrocious to the good, most of them having at least the merit of spirit. The text treats of the city and its people in all their phases—painters, writers and savants, actors and theaters, cabmen and nurses, street-scenes and night revelries, festivals and funerals, and the great exposition. The style is lively, and the book touches so many sides of the French capital that it is full of entertainment.

Woman's Work in America (Henry Holt & Co.), edited by Annie Nathan Meyer, contains eighteen essays by representative women on the achievements of the sex in various fields of labor. The editor sought to secure "a total absence of railing against the opposite sex," and the candid male reader must confess that men are here treated with far

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more consideration than they had any right to expect. It is a dreary and discreditable story of prejudice which most of these writers have to tell, and the wonder is that there is so much to show in the face of such obstacles and opposition as the pioneers in every direction had to encounter.

The man who can write a good short story is sure of a warm welcome from the reading public. Richard Harding Davis in *Gallegher and Other Stories* (Charles Scribner's Sons) has given more than one proof of uncommon ability in this direction. His danger seems to lie in a tendency to strain after effect, as in "The Other Woman." ——Mr. H. C. Bunner has been writing longer than Mr. Davis, and when he is at his best, he writes delightful short stories. *Zadoc Pine and Other Stories* (Charles Scribner's Sons) contains some which reach his highest level.——*Stories of Old New Spain* (D. Appleton & Co.), by Thomas A. Janvier, take the reader among scenes that are full of novelty, and the style is good enough to repay reading for that alone.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL, AND ESSAYS.

ANDERSON, J. H. History of George the Third's Reign. With three colored maps and 19 maps in text. Longmans, Green & Co. Cloth, $1.50.

FREEMAN, EDWARD A. The History of Sicily, from the Earliest Times. Two volumes. Macmillan & Co. $10.00.

GARDINER, C. M. S. (compiler). Maxims and Gleanings from the Writings of H. P. Liddon, D.D. Longmans, Green & Co. Cloth, 60 cents.

GARDINER, SAMUEL RAWSON, LL.D. A Student's History of England, from the Earliest Times to 1885. Vol. II., A.D. 1509–1689. With 96 illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co. Cloth, $1.20.

HOUSTON, WILLIAM, M.A. (editor). Documents Illustrative of the Canadian Constitution, with Notes and Appendixes. Carswell & Co. Cloth, $1.00.

HUNT, LEIGH. Essays of Leigh Hunt. Selected and edited by Reginald Brindley Johnson. With introduction. Portrait by S. Lawrence and etchings by Herbert Raitton. (The Temple Library.) 2 vols. Macmillan & Co. $4.00.

PARRY, EDWARD ABBOTT. Charles Macklin (Eminent Actor Series, edited by William Archer.) Longmans, Green & Co. Cloth, $1.00.

SAINT-AMAND, IMBERT DE. Marie Louise, the Island of Elba, and the Hundred Days. Translated by Elizabeth Gilbert Martin. With portrait. Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth, $1.25.

POETRY.

CRANE, THOMAS FREDERICK, A.M. Chansons Populaires de la France. (Knickerbocker Nugget Series.) A Selection from French Popular Ballads. With introduction and notes. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Half calf, $1.50.

SLADEN, DOUGLAS (editor). Younger American Poets, 1830–1890. With an appendix of Younger Canadian Poets, edited by Goodridge Bliss Roberts. Cassell Publishing Co. Cloth, $2.00.

TAYLOR, WILLIAM STITT. Man Immortal: An Allegorical Poem. With portrait. J. B. Lippincott Co. Cloth, $2.00.

TOMLIN, EDWARD LOCKE. Rhymelets. Longmans, Green & Co. Cloth, $1.25.

FICTION.

BOUTON, JOHN BELL. The Enchanted: An Authentic Account of the Strange Origin of the New Psychical Club Cassell Publishing Co. Cloth, $1.50.

BRÉHAT, ALFRED DE. Bras d'Acier; or, On the Gold Path in '49. Adapted from the French by A. Estoclet. Cassell Publishing Co. Paper, 50 cents.

FAWCETT, EDGAR. A New York Family: A Novel. With 36 illustrations by Thomas Nast and others. Cassell Publishing Co. Paper, $1.00.

HARLAND, HENRY (Sidney Luska). Grandison Mather: or, An Account of the Fortunes of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Gardiner. Cassell Publishing Co. Paper, 50 cents.

HARRISON, MRS. BURTON. The Anglomaniacs. Cassell Publishing Co. Paper, 50 cents.

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JANVIER, THOMAS A. Stories of Old New Spain. D. Appleton & Co. Cloth, $1.00.

SERRANO, MARY J. (translator). The Friend of Death: A Fantastic Tale. Adapted from the Spanish. (The "Unknown Library.") Cassell Publishing Co. Cloth, 50 cents.

JÓKAI, MAURUS. There Is No Devil: A Romance. Translated from the Hungarian by F. Steinitz. Cassell Publishing Co. Cloth, $1.00.

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